

HISTORY
OF
KANSAS:
AND
EMIGRANT'S GUIDE.

A DESCRIPTION
GEOGRAPHICAL AND TOPOGRAPHICAL.—ALSO, CLIMATE, SOIL,
PRODUCTIONS AND COMPARATIVE VALUE WITH OTHER STATES
AND TERRITORIES, INCLUDING ITS

POLITICAL HISTORY,

OFFICERS—CANDIDATES—EMIGRANT COLONIES—ELECTION,
ABOLITION, SQUATTER AND PRO-SLAVERY CONTENTIONS AND
INQUISITIONS; WITH THE PROSPECTS OF THE TERRITORY FOR
FREEDOM OR SLAVERY.

ALL COMPILED FROM A
THREE MONTH'S TRAVEL THROUGH THE TERRITORY IN 1854.

BY
J. BUTLER CHAPMAN, ESQ.
A RESIDENT SINCE ITS SETTLEMENT;

VOL. I.

WITH A MAP DRAWN FROM OBSERVATION AND OFFICIAL SOURCES.
(MAP AND BOOK FOLD SEPARATELY OR TOGETHER.)

AKRON:
TEESDALE, ELKINS & CO., PRINTERS.
1855.

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HISTORY

OF

KANSAS:

Very many copies of this work have been ordered for the Library of Congress.

"Three Thousand Miles in a Railway Car," on the Eastern Division of the Union Pacific Railway, is an 8vo. pamphlet, pp. 96, printed by Ringwalt & Brown, and written by Mr. Charles Godfrey Leland. Last November, a party of gentlemen from Philadelphia went to Kansas, and "back again," the object being to examine the condition of the line, (its Eastern division), notice all that was worth attention, and "have a good time generally," from and to. Three gentlemen connected with newspapers were among the party who started, and Mr. Leland was one of these. They did not change cars until they got to Fort Riley, in Kansas, which is about the centre of the United States and of this Continent; they had a very good time of it, the narrative of which was published in THE PRESS—which is a special reason why we did not give any extracts. The narrative is in the form of letters, actually written on the road (the travellers enjoyed the luxurious appliances of a director's car), and revised, with additions, for the present publication. The author, while he neglects no opportunity of "poking fun" at his readers in a remarkable free and easy manner, also gives a great deal of solid, useful and accurate information about that stupendous undertaking, the Union Pacific Railway.

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SO, CLIMATE, SOIL,
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A

TERRITORY IN 1854.

AN, ESQ.

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1855.

...and with some shadow of reliability, that Miramon, Marques, Maximilian, Mejia, Castello, and the supporters of the Empire and all their troops, started for Queretaro, and were met and completely defeated at Apaseo on the 16th by General Escobado. The French transports are daily arriving.

The French troops are stationed between Orizaba and Paso del Macho, and are embarking with activity every day. There is a regular stampede of Imperialists. Almost all those who acted as Maximilian's ministers have either left the country or are on their way abroad.

MARKETS.

[By Telegraph to The Press.]

BALTIMORE, March 5.—Cotton dull and lower; middling uplands at 30@30½c. Coffee unchanged. Flour dull and nominal, especially for spring wheat brands. Wheat—Southern scarce and firm for choice; common qualities dull: we quote red at \$2.75@2.80 for low grades, and \$3.20@3.30 for prime and choice. Corn—Receipts to-day small; in good demand; white and yellow both sold at 95c@1. Oats at 58c. Cloverseed—\$8@8.25 for old, and \$8.50@9 for new, as to quality. Provisions firm. Mess Pork \$21.62. Lard quiet at 12½c for city, and 12¼c for Western. Sugar steady at 10¼@10½ for fair to good refining. Whisky—No sales; quotations irregular.

CINCINNATI, March 5.—Flour unchanged, with limited local demand. Wheat quiet at \$2.45@3.50 for No. 1 spring and \$2.87@2.90 for winter. Corn dull, but prices not lower; shelled 62c; ears 57c; shelled in sacks 76c. Oats—No. 1 at 52c. Rye firm at \$1.65@1.24 for No. 1. Cotton dull and nominal at 27@28c for middling. Whisky firm at \$2.25. Mess Pork firmer, and best city brands held at \$21; sales of second-class city at \$20.50, and country at \$20.25. Bulk Meats closing at 7½c, 9½c, and 10½c for shoulders, sides, and clear sides; hams 10¼@10½c. Bacon firmer; shoulders 9½c, sides 10¼@11½c. Lard firm; sales of 1,200 lbs for delivery at points in the interior at 12c; city held at 12½@12¾c; not saleable higher than 12¼c. Butter and cheese unchanged. Eggs 16@17c. Cloverseed \$8.75. Timothy \$3.30@3.40. Flaxseed \$2.30@2.40. Gold 137@137½.

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INTRODUCTION.

It is intended in this volume of A History of Kansas, to give an impartial and exact account of the whole territory, geographically and topographically, in soil, climate, timber, minerals, springs and water-courses, towns, perspective, prospective and those really existing; the people, their condition and prospects, politics, negroes, yankees, abolitionists and pro-slavery men, and the most favorable localities for future settlements on every stream in the territory. All made from actual observation by the writer, in a three months' constant travel over the country, to 97° longitude west, and a portion of 98°. With a full and impartial expression of the acts of public men, so far as they could be obtained from observation, the information of others, and the public prints. The organization of the territory and election of Delegate to Congress, giving all with an impartiality that knows no favoritism or exception.

This volume is intended as a guide to the emigrant, and not only to direct his course and destination, but to give him some warning of who and what has preceded him, that he may know what sentiments prevail in certain localities. It is particularly intended to guard the emigrant against any false allurements. Some writers and the most we have observed on Kansas, write with such graphic and novel style, that the reader going there would not suppose it to be the same country described. No man is considered a hero, unless he can describe Kansas as a Paradise. We profess to give its history as we saw it, and understand it, and have endeavored to convey the facts to the minds of others; and if we succeed, we shall feel fully compensated.

THE AUTHOR.

KANSAS TERRITORY.

CHAPTER I.

Remarks—Boundaries of Kansas Territory—Kansas River—Navigation—Access to the Territory—Kansas City—Westport—Independence Road—Whitfield City—Several Roads Uniting—Parkersville Landing—Big Island Creek—Fort Leavenworth—Big Blue—Best ground found by Emigrants—Kickapoo—Salt Creek—Weston, Mo. proscriptive resolutions against Free Soil Emigrants—Williamsport—Atchison—Donaphan City—St. Joseph—Whitheads—Smithfield—South of Kansas River—Routes of the Mountain trader—His Wild Life—Westport—Eastern Ladies in Indian Country—Salt Lake no Desert—Rocky Mountains—Trade with Indians—Independence and Santa Fe Road—Territory thirty years back—New-Mexico—Utah—Mormons.

THE excitement in the Congress of the United States, in 1854, gave greater consequence to the territories of Kansas and Nebraska than they deserved. The impression goes abroad, that it could not be possible so much could be said in and out of Congress, of territories which were not of some peculiar importance. It is true, politically, they are of great importance; provided they can become States of the Union within a few years.

But, as to their capacity to confer a great amount of human happiness, they have no advantages greatly superior, and have some great disadvantages to many other States and Territories, as will be shown in this work.

The political relations of these territories have been so much discussed in every circle, and by every public journal of the day, that we have nothing new to submit on the subject in this short sketch.

Kansas Territory is bounded on the east by the State of Missouri—the Missouri River being the line from the junction of the Kansas River north—and on the north by Nebraska Territory;

on the west by Utah Territory; and on the south by the Indian Territory and New-Mexico.

The Kansas River which empties into the Missouri, on the line of the State, and latitude 39d. north, longitude 94d. west, has a westward course nearly through the centre of the territory, having its source in the black hills of the rocky mountains, and is the only stream affording any facilities of navigation in the territory.

Judging from the best information to be obtained, the Kansas River will be navigable about four months in the year, for about one hundred and twenty, to one hundred and fifty miles from its junction with the Missouri. In times of low water, its navigation is obstructed by the turbidness of the water and the constant changes of the channel by sand bars.

This year, (1854) being a remarkably dry season, was unfavorable for judging of its proclivities for commerce; but even in the best season, but little dependence can be placed upon it for purposes of transfer. It is a good water course for the amount of water it contains, having no serious obstructions. But the main thoroughfares must be railroads.

The Kansas has high banks on one side, and low bottoms on the other. It has rock bottom in many places, but in consequence of its low banks, but little improvement can be made in its facilities for navigation.

This river has numerous tributaries, all of which are nearly dry this summer, (1854) with but few exceptions.

The several tributaries of the Kansas and other water courses in the territory, will be described as we are giving a description of the country, and pointing out localities for settlement, with those already settled.

This narrative is accompanied with a map, made from actual observation: and to avoid repetition we will endeavor to render the locality of each so comprehensive and plain to the emigrant, that he may find it from whatever place he may strike the territory.

The usual access to the territory is from the east side. The principle avenue for access is by the Missouri River. The first

landing is at Kansas City, in the State of Missouri, near the line of the territory, and the river of that name, where it joins the Missouri, both river and State at the same place. The town of Kansas, in Missouri, is the proper landing for those who want to visit the south of the territory, in Osage, Neasho, Verdegrase, and Grand River, or the Shawnee Missions; but, it is not the most favorable landing for the interior of the territory. Parkersville landing, fifteen miles above Kansas, or Fort Leavenworth, is far superior for access to the interior of the territory.

From "Kansas City," (a name which is stolen from Kansas Territory,) the traveler proceeds four miles to Westport, near the line of Kansas, and from Westport south; to all the southern localities, or by the old Independence and California road, through the Shawnee land, up the Kansas river, to the east side of the Potawatamie lands, seventy miles, where the California road crosses the Kansas River, at Pappan Ferry, and intercepts the Military road from Fort Leavenworth, at the prospective city of "Whitfield," which city is located one and a half miles from the river, on a beautiful stream, known as "*Conda River*," (formerly *Soldier Creek*;) by the former name it will be known in this narrative hereafter.

At Whitfield City, four prominent roads connect and continue west in one road, viz : the Independence and California road, the Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley road, the Parkersville road; from just above the mouth of the Kansas, which leads up the river bottom to Whitfield; and the other roads are the St. Joseph and Potawatamie, all uniting at the "City of Whitfield," and forming but one road west, through the Potawatamie land, to Big Vermillion River, at "German Town," where the California and Independence road separates from the Fort Riley road, the former takes to the right a north-west course, and the latter to the left up the Kansas river, to Fort Riley.

From "Whitfield" to "German Town," is thirty-five miles, and from German Town to the crossing of Big Blue, at Marysville, is sixty miles. The crossing of Big Blue is about the extremity of

white settlements, for the want of timber. Some settlements could be made on Ten Mile Creek, and possibly may be on Little Blue; but both soil and the want of timber is forbidding. But we shall have frequent occasion to refer to this destination, having visited it from different routes.

The next most conspicuous and favorable access to the territory, where the facility of a steam boat offers, is by the Kansas river. The availability of which we have already described.

Passenger steam boats, of light draught, might always run up the Kansas, but whether the business of passengers would justify it, is doubtful.

The next access to the territory, is at the crossing of the Missouri river, Parkersville, Mo., fifteen miles above the mouth of Kansas, which road passes through the Delaware lands. A fine wagon road continues up the bottom of the Kansas river, and intersects the Independence and California road and Great Military road, from Fort Leavenworth, at "Whitfield City," already spoken of. This road is the most desirable to travel, to see good land, water and timber, in the territory. But few think of entering the territory at this point, and thereby miss the most desirable country and localities in the territory.

This road pursues for a great portion of the way a line west of the prospective Kansas and Whitfield railroad, up the most beautiful bottom land in the world. This prospective railroad, for which there is a petition before Congress for right of way, will be again referred to in the description of the Kansas bottom lands.

The next most notable place of access to the territory is Fort Leavenworth—the U. S. Military post, a place of ancient memory.

There is now an interloping town, so called, at the lower edge of the Military Reserve, three miles south of Fort Leavenworth, on the banks of the Missouri river, named "Leavenworth City."

From Fort Leavenworth, there leads off two great military roads, one of them already noticed in conjunction with the California and Independence emigrant road, at "Whitfield City," and the junction of the Parkersville road, at the same place. The other road

from Fort Leavenworth is known as the Oregon and California Military road, which connects with the Oregon and St. Joseph emigrant road, about one hundred and ten miles from St. Joseph, on the Missouri river, from the junction the two run together, and cross the Big Blue river, at Marysville, and unite with the Independence and California road at Ten Mile Creek. Four or five miles above Fort Leavenworth, is the great crossing of the river, at a steam ferry, from the town of Weston, Missouri, to the salt creek road, which connects with the Military road three miles from Leavenworth.

We make Fort Leavenworth a station and meridian from whence to compute distance. As Leavenworth City, three miles below the Fort, never can be a commercial point, or a depot for the territory. nor can we see how it can be a point conspicuous for any purpose whatever.

Weston, in Missouri, deserves a special notice, not only from its being a notable and popular crossing place for the emigrant, but also in consequence of the inquisitorial tribunals organized there by the pro-slavery oligarchy, on the first commencement of emigration to Kansas.

A meeting of the citizens was held, at which the most inflammatory speeches were made by some of the politicians, and published largely in the public journals of Weston. And as appears by these publications, a man by the name of Stringfellow, made the most fulsome denunciations of all non-slave-holding poor men and working white women, freesoilers and abolitionists in particular. The speech was incredible, and only to be believed by its publication in the journals at the place of utterance, which was in substance that "no honest man did his own work, the poor working men were all d——d rascals, and all white women who did their own work, were disreputable." This speech was disapproved of by many of the members of the meeting, and incensed many of the worthy dames of Weston, who had thought it no disgrace to work. And we know many decent and respectable ladies did their own house work; and some distinguished ladies

made strong demonstrations towards applying a counteracting salve by the way of a coat of *tar and feathers*. The resolutions of the meeting, if carried out, were calculated to be exceedingly annoying to the emigrant, by subjecting him to an ordeal of an investigating committee, and all whose proclivities were for freedom were to be denied the privilege of a passage or residence in Kansas.

But these inquisitorial and ejecting resolutions, as well as the inflammatory speech of Stringfellow, were disapproved by a counter meeting of the citizens of Weston; yet the principles of the first meeting were literally carried out at the late election for delegate to Congress in Kansas, all of which will appear in its appropriate place.

Although another meeting was held at Weston to repudiate the odious terms applied to respectable citizens, and the offensive resolutions, yet it was in self-preservation. There are many respectable citizens in Missouri who are non-slaveholders, and no doubt the trade of these is the most profitable to the city. Many incidents took place in relation thereto that would be more amusing than profitable in this work.

But the town of Weston will be forever remembered by the citizens of Kansas for the fanaticism of a few ultra pro-slavery men, and their wild defamatory speeches and resolutions against poor, helpless families, emigrating to Kansas. The feelings of many are wrought up to a degree that will not be forgotten in many generations to come. They run with hound, but hold with the hare.

Williamsport, twelve miles from Fort Leavenworth, is the next place of crossing, which is a prospective town. The town Atchison, twenty miles above Fort Leavenworth, is the next important crossing place. It is a new town just springing into existence, and has a good landing, and is making some improvements; a store-house, a grocery, and two or three dwellings are erected.

Donaphan City, is the next crossing place. It has been a trading place with the Kickapoo Indians; there is no town nor pub-

lie road leading to or from it. Lewis' Ferry, six miles above Donaphan, is a crossing place.

St. Joseph, in Missouri, is the great crossing of the Missouri river, in California and Oregon memory, when, in 1849, the assembled multitude started for the golden regions of California—the writer being among the number. This road crosses the five mile bottom to the Indian village at Kickapoo Creek, the old camping ground of the emigrant after crossing.

Five miles above St. Joseph is another crossing place, at Jas. R. Whitehead's Ferry. That crossing place was made in '49, from the impossibility of all the emigrants crossing at St. Joseph. Seven miles out the two roads connect, and are designated as the St. Joseph and Oregon road, and thirty miles west passes the Iowa Mission, and ninety miles west, crosses the Big Nimehaw, and at one hundred and two miles intersects with the Fort Leavenworth and California road, and crosses the Big Blue at Marysville, six miles above the Independence and California road, and unites with that road between Big and Little Blue; and continues up Little Blue to within a few miles of Platt.

Smithfield, the residence of John W. Smith, of Virginia, ten miles above St. Joseph, is a crossing of some importance; we saw many emigrants passing into the territory from this crossing, six miles out it connects with the Oregon road.

Iowa Point, twenty miles above, is the last crossing to the territory.

The several towns and localities will be more particularly noticed hereafter, when specifying their several merits and prospects, as far as could be ascertained.

South of the Kansas river is another great and ancient thoroughfare, known as the Independence and Santa Fe Road.

It is not intended to write a description of Missouri State, but localities are so blended with the description of Kansas Territory that they must necessarily be referred to. The town of Independence, frequently spoken of, is the county seat of Jackson county, laying four miles from the Missouri river and twelve from the

territorial line; before the existence of Westport, Independence was the most frontier town, and a place of rendezvous in the halcyon days of mountain trade. It was from here that the great caravans of wagons for the Santa Fe trade in New Mexico rendezvoused and fitted out before launching into the great desert of the west. Of which styled desert, Kansas Territory in those days formed a conspicuous part.

No sooner did they cross the Missouri line than every heart beat with a consciousness of having launched into the Great Wilderness Prairie—from under the protection of all municipal laws or society. The history of these caravans would be quite amusing; much wealth was returned to Independence by this trade in Mexico. The numerous tribe of Indians being removed from the States to Kansas, and the large annuities paid out, caused a rival town to start up near the territorial line, called Westport.

Here the Indian agents of the several tribes of Kansas Territory rendezvous, for public business, and millions of money passes through that place and is expended there; hence Westport has become a business town.

The excuse we have for writing thus much of these towns is this: as we were riding into these towns with some ladies of intelligence from the east, as soon as they saw a brick house, exclaimed with astonishment, "why, a brick house here in the wilderness! and here is a church too, oh, my!" We told them these were ancient towns of public patronage and frontier trade, but they did not appear to understand one word we said. They had it fixed in their minds that they were in an *Indian country* and they looked for every thing as nature fixed it; they appeared disagreeably surprised at the big brick houses, where they supposed they should have some *honor* of being among *savages*.

These plains through to the rocky mountains were formerly styled "*Deserts*," but properly, there are none in America.

The idea was a fallacious notion of the first exploring parties through these regions. Humbolt styles it a "*desert*." Fremont frequently speaks of approaching the desert of the Great Basin.

Salt Lake, now Utah Territory, was so styled until the Mormons settled there, in remembrance of which they petitioned Congress to name it the "*Desert State*," and it now has a State population.

But these renowned travelers and explorers lived a hundred years too soon. They neither discovered the *precious metal* nor where settlements could be made.

But this is a digression from our purpose in our little work—it is not intended to go beyond the relations of Kansas Territory, but as we observed some leading localities and geographical position required explanation of their origin and destination.

The Rocky Mountains, which are now a part of Kansas Territory, had long been a field of immense trade and enterprise, and vast wealth had been acquired by many individuals in the trade of buffalo skins and furs, of which, vast numbers were obtained in those wild regions, for which articles of trade and for the gold of Sante Fe, large amounts of dry goods were taken there and exchanged.

These dry goods were first shipped from the east to Independence, and there distributed for their various destinations, in caravans of huge, ugly road wagons, that looked more like a Chinese junk than an Ohio road wagon. Mules and oxen were the motive power.

These goods were taken to the mountain forts and exchanged at enormous profits.

These roads, of which we have been speaking, are very ancient highways—they have been selected with much care and the best route possible is occupied. They have been public highways of this wilderness community for a hundred years before civilization occupied them, or sought them out as avenues of commerce and transportation.

One of these of which we are now speaking, viz: the Independence and Sante Fe Road crosses the Missouri line ten miles south of Westport, and leads through a beautiful portion of the wilderness prairie of Kansas Territory, and leaves the territory

by an exit on the south side some two hundred and fifty miles from where it enters.

The reader will think of all this Territory thirty years back, when the whole plains were black with the multitudes of buffalo, the elk, the antelope, the bear, the turkey, and the Indians, more wild and more savage than the rest of his compeers.

Think of New-Mexico, now civilized American Territory, and *Utah*, once pronounced a desert—where the human family could not exist—now enjoying all the blessings of an eastern state and asking for admission into the American Union. Such is the civilized community on the west of Kansas, numbering nearly seventy thousand souls, whose peculiarity of religious tenets are of world-wide celebrity for eccentricity, now inhabiting the once famed and (*desert*) barren regions of Humbolt and Fremont, now a little world—an empire within itself—as though God had indeed intended it for a peculiar people.

They now have their churches, temples, seminaries of learning, manufactories, commerce, agriculture and financiering—their civil codes, their executive, legislative and judicial systems; in short, all parts, parcels and branches of an independent state.

With New-Mexico the territory of Kansas will have but little or no relations, nor yet with the Indian Territory south. But *Utah* is destined to be intimately connected. The great Pacific Railroad will unite them; and in this relation of sisterhood, what the result may be the future alone can tell. It had been hoped that president Pierce, in the plenitude of his power, would have sent among a people charged with doubtful morality, not the regular army to subdue them by force, but in his appointment of officers, he would have sent families, whose example of piety and morality, would have weaned them over to a sense of propriety, even in the exercise of their own religion. But look at the frontier and answer, where do you find more profligacy than in the officers and soldiers of the regular army. This appointment of a military officer to civil government is of

doubtful propriety, and such appointments will be as much resisted yet, as Roman Catholicism is by a certain *fraternity*.

The adventures and romantic scenes that have been acted on the great plains of Kansas Territory, where the mountain trader would leave all restraint and civilization behind; after once entering upon this wilderness of prairie and trusting his destiny to the more wild and untutored savage, would be truly amusing and interesting to the present inhabitants of these grounds, where the hum and din of civilization now prevails.

CHAPTER II.

Kansas River—Wyandots, their Civilization—Delaware Indians, their Lands and Bounds—Outlet—Condition of Treaty—U. S. in Trust—Trespasser On—Quality of Land—Rail Road.

KANSAS RIVER is the principal stream of the territory and the only one affording the facilities of navigation.

Its course is east and west, and occupies nearly a central position in the territory. Its greatest southerly bend is forty miles from its confluence with the Missouri, which is at latitude 39d.

On the north side of the Kansas, at its junction with the Missouri, in the forks of the two rivers, is the land of that ancient tribe of Indians, the Wyandots. They have only about six or eight miles square of land.

The Wyandots are far advanced in civilization; they have many respectable families in the tribe intermarried with Anglo-saxons. The most approved disposition they can make of their land, would be to have it surveyed, sub-divided and granted in personal ownership to each individual of the nation—that would be an inducement to personal exertion.

The Delaware Indians owned a district of country on the north side of the Kansas river, embracing the river from the Wyandot's land up to the Potawatamie land, except twenty-three sections on the Kansas river of half breed Kansas reserves, one mile square each, the Delaware land then extended up the Missouri river, from the Wyandot to the north-west corner of Fort Leavenworth Military Reserve, a distance of thirty miles; thence from the fort a north-west course in an arm shape, called the *Delaware Outlet*, ten mile wide on the north side of the Potawatamie land and one hundred and fifty miles west—this was their great hunting ground.

At the treaty at Washington in 1854, the Delawares ceded all their land to the United States, except ten miles wide on the Kansas river, for forty miles up the river. The outlet was sold absolute to the United States and subject to pre-emption. The remainder over the ten miles is held in trust by the United States, to be surveyed by the government into sub-divisions, and all offered at public sale for the best price it will bring, and after paying the expenso of survey and sale, the proceeds to be paid to the tribe.

Immediately on the formation of the treaty, a few speculators, including two officers of the Fort, took possession of a section of trust land, laid out a town about three miles below the Fort, on the Missouri river, and sold lots to a considerable amount, the express orders of the government to the contrary notwithstanding. The troops stationed at Fort Leavenworth were ordered to remove the intruders from this tract of land, but the officers refused to act. In this city speculation Gov. Reader participated.

This daring intrusion in the face of law and force, emboldened others, and the imigrants without distinction or hesitation, settled down on these trust lands from one end to the other.

The reader here will notice that all the land on the north side of the Kansas, ten miles wide for one hundred miles up the river is Indian land, and not open to white settlement.

The Delaware lands on the north side is a fine body of land—containing excellent timber, rock, and stone coal. The bottom land is wide, extending from four to six miles from the river, and but one or two points of narrow strips of highland approaches the river, and that for a short distance.

For one hundred and fifty miles from the mouth of the Kansas up the river bottom is the most natural route for a railroad that can be found for the same distance in the United States.

On this route is the Kansas and Whitfield Railroad contemplated. But the great horse-power thoroughfare for carriages and horse-back, will remain over the ridge road about ten and twenty miles back from the river.

The reason of this variation is, Kansas river after leaving the Missouri, in the course of thirty miles up, has departed from a western course about fifteen or twenty miles south, forming a great southerly bend at the junction of the Wakarusa river—then inclining north a short distance takes a direct west course for sixty miles or more, when it makes another sweep to the north to receive Big Blue, a main branch of Kansas, then turns south.

CHAPTER III.

Stranger Creek—Grass Hopper Creek—Mud Creek—"Whitfield City"—Road from Leavenworth—From Parkersville—Soil—Settlements—Locations—A description of "Whitfield City" and its Geographical Position—Coal—Timber—Water Power, &c.—Distances.

ON leaving the Missouri river, either at Parkersville or Fort Leavenworth, and pursuing either of the two roads, the first tributary of the Kansas of importance, is Stranger Creek, about twelve miles distant. Along on the border of the Missouri river is heavy timber of good quality.

The Parkersville road leads into the Kansas bottom land and through the reserved land of the Delawares, for forty miles, and crosses Grasshopper Creek through the Delaware Trust lands, and the Kansas half-breed reserves, to "Whitfield City." It passes through the most rich and beautiful body of land in Kansas Territory, none of which is in market or accessible to legal settlement, for a distance of seventy miles from the Missouri.

By pursuing the road from Leavenworth to Whitfield, already described as the "great Military road," three miles from the Fort, you pass quite a broken district of land, descend a steep hill into Salt Creek valley. Salt Creek winds through a very inviting district of prairie, all of which is claimed and a number of the claims settled on. At Salt Creek is a store and other valuable improvements. Continuing from Salt Creek over a waving prairie studded over with small frame buildings, you ascend quite a hill and find yourself on the high lands of the great plains destitute of timber. On these heights of rolling prairie, the Military road forks—the one leading to the right is the Oregon or Fort Larimie road—the one leading to the left the Fort Riley road—all of which have been described.

In pursuing the Fort Riley road twelve miles, you cross Stran-

ger creek at Dawson's trading house. Stranger creek, although partially dry in the fall, has the appearance of a noble stream, having capacious bottom land of rich quality containing some good timber.

This is still the Delaware trust land, and although the settlement of these lands is forbidden, yet it is nearly all occupied by substantial farmers. The land is truly desirable, and worth the devotion paid to it. Along on the high ridges, between the Missouri and Stranger, it is thickly settled. You can see great numbers of houses in the distance, of all sizes and descriptions, except large ones, some very rude cabins, minus comfort; one stuffed with hay and no door, the inmates had access by the window, as the Indians do on the pacific to keep the bears out.

The Stranger is susceptible of settlement for many miles up; but the timber perceptibly declines as you ascend to the head branches and nearly every valuable location is occupied or claimed by the commencement of a cabin. We found the country towards the head branches not so desirable as lower down; yet the high land was more even but more destitute of timber.

From Stranger creek, pass in whatever direction you may west to Grasshopper, you pass over a high rolling prairie wholly void of timber, except on the little ravine that connects those streams.

On the Military road, Grasshopper is twenty-five miles from Stranger, passing a branch of Stranger known as *Hickory Point*.

Grasshopper is a stream of some magnitude, high banks and flat land on the margin; the bottoms wide and rich, with fine forests of oak, walnut, hackberry and elm; on the tributaries of the Grasshopper are copses of small timber and undergrowth, and in the heads of ravines, clumps of trees of limited extent.

We ought to have mentioned here, as elsewhere, that the formation of the earth is the same, with the exception of the bottoms, it is primitive; the soil a deep, rich, black loam; almost a uniform limestone bed or marl, with flint or gravel points; the rolling prairie produces a luxurious growth of grass.

A town called "Osanke," is laid off at the crossing of Grasshopper by three brothers, Indian traders, by the name of Dyres. This town is on the Delaware Trust lands and about sixteen miles from the junction with the Kansas river.

On the west side of the Grasshopper, is another town, called Armstrong. The land is all claimed with as much earnestness as though it was owned on the first occupancy. After the survey of the land, there certainly will be more vacancies for settlement than now acknowledged. The best country of land is near the confluence of the Grasshopper with the Kansas River. At the mouth of this stream, Governor Reeder bought one of his half breed sections, and it is certainly the best land and timber in the territory.

From Grasshopper the traveler again ascends the high waving prairie, looks all over creation, and the *rest of Kansas Territory*; passes several little streams of minor importance; thinly timbered and claimed, or settled on. And among the rest Mud Creek, in seven miles of its junctions with the Kansas, in the vicinity of which is much good timber, and land of the best quality, and but few settlers on it when we left in December. Twenty miles from Grasshopper, we arrive at the city of "Whitfield," on the Conda river, one and a half miles from the Great crossing of the Kansas at Pappan's Ferry.

"Whitfield City" is located upon the bank of the Conda river, in one of the most central and commanding situations in the territory. It has an elevated situation and commanding prospect, immediately on the Fort Leavenworth and Fort Riley roads, and on the old Independence and California emigrant road, and at the junction of the Potawatamie and St. Joseph roads. No place in the territory can have more public access to roads. "Whitfield" contains some fine large springs, an excellent coal bank, and one of the finest mill powers in the territory; surrounded with valuable and large forests of timber and rich land—every thing conducing to make it one of the most valuable town sites in the territory. It being equal distance from almost every settled

point in the territory. We venture to say that no other place has the claims for the seat of Government, that Whitfield has.

One mile from the town, is one of the finest free stone quarries in the country. Rocks one hundred feet long could be split off from the beautiful mass.

The geographical position of "Whitfield" can be readily perceived, by reference to the several distances from the most conspicuous and remote localities in the territory. And for the benefit of the reader, we will here enumerate some, which will be more satisfactory by reference to the map we have prepared for this work.

Whitfield is distant from the mouth of Kansas river seventy-five miles; from Westport, Mo., seventy-five; from Fort Leavenworth, sixty-five; from Atchison sixty-five; from St. Joseph, eighty; from "Arbana," on the Big Nimehan, eighty-five; from Marysville, on Big Blue, eighty-eight; from Fort Riley, seventy-five; from Osawattamie, on the Osage, eighty; from Osage, ninety; from Fort Scott, one hundred and ten; from Sante Fe, Mo., eighty five; and from Arkansas, one hundred and twenty miles.

The location is thirty miles farther from the extreme southern boundary of the territory, than from the northern boundary; but the southern portion is much more of an inland section of country, and never will be as densely populated as the the north. The prospect of settlement terminates beyond Fort Riley and Marysville, for beyond these points it never can be densely populated.

The roads designated leading to these various destinations, are the finest imaginable; rendering carriage traveling the most delightful in the world. To Fort Leavenworth it is an easy day's drive, in the summer time—a distance of sixty-five miles from Whitfield town. Over this route for miles on either side of the road, splendid farms could be made, and will be in process of time, as soon as people learn to dispense with that most diligently sought for article—timber.

CHAPTER IV.

Location—Origin—Description of Whitfield City—Proprietorship of Town—Conda River—View of the Country—Settlement—Wolf River North—Near Kansas River Prospect—Town once named Delaware City—Changed—Literary Purposes.

WHITFIELD City, a name of ancient remembrance among all christian denominations, is laid out on a splendid and magnificent scale. Its peculiar locality and advantages of good springs, mill-powers, coal banks, and beautiful groves of young trees, as well as the commanding situation at the junction of several public roads, induced the original proprietor, JOHN B. CHAPMAN, to select this site for the establishment of a public school and other benevolent and literary societies, to promote the happiness and better the condition of its inhabitants. No place in the territory could he find, in all his investigations, so admirably calculated for public institutions of learning, as this location.

He first named the place "Delaware City," and associated Mr. JAS. A. GRAY and F. SWIGCE as partners in the location, and they immediately set about erecting a school house, and Mr. C— returned to the States to procure teachers, designing at the earliest possible period to establish a protestant institution of learning. Subsequently, on petitioning for a post office, it was found that there was already a "Delaware" post office, when it was changed to "Whitfield." Below, we give a full description of the town and country. It is laid out at right angles, with a number of large public squares for schools, churches, etc.

In the south view is a densely luxuriant forest of timber, that encircles the base of the elevated prominence; and beyond the timber, a mile and a half from the public square, flows the Kan-

sas river. In the distance, beyond the river, for miles you behold the high rolling prairie. On the west margin of the plat of the town, meanders the rippling and limpid, serpentine Conda river, with a dense copse of woodland. On the east and west of the town plat and public square, are clumps of shade trees overshadowing two large and limpid springs of water. On the north is a boundless view of the waving prairie, with a long view of the great military road. To the north-west you behold the smooth, serpentine windings of the Conda river, studded with a black looking forest, shooting off to the north through the Potawatamie lands, like the great hydra for which it was named, retreating from view in the high rolling prairie.

Whitfield City is laid out with a view of encouraging scientific, literary and religious institutions; liberal donations are made for school houses and churches, and the fine springs ensure comfort and convenience. The central position to any part of the territory will render Whitfield a convenient location for men of business. The Kansas river, navigable only a small portion of the year, is near enough for all commercial purposes. The road leading to the river is a beautiful dry sandy ground, without any obstruction from mud, ravine, or other matter, at any season of the year. No country in the world contains a richer soil than in the vicinity of this town, and one year's crop will furnish all the luxuries that earth can produce. A rail road up the Kansas river will soon supercede every other thoroughfare.

CHAPTER V.

Country North and West from Whitfield—Wolf Creek Settlement—Distance—Nimehaw—Potawatamie Land West—California Emigrant Road—Catholic Mission—Heart Creek—Settlements On—North of Potawatamie Land—Open for Pre-emption—Crossing Big Vermillion—German Town—Forks of Military and California Road—Fort Riley—Big Blue—Rock Creek—Army—Uselessness—Extent of Territory Proper.

NORTH of the town of Whitfield there are no settlements, although there is much good land open for pre-emption, until you reach the head of Wolf river, a distance of thirty-five miles, and the head of Nimehaw which interlocks with it, on which are extensive settlements. Proceeding west from Whitfield, the four roads all lead off in the old California and Oregon emigrant route through the Potawatamie land and up the wide bottom of the Kansas river passing a number of improvements of the Potawatamies and traders very little timber prevailing. Heart creek affords considerable timber and heading outside their lands on the north. will admit of good settlements on lands subject to preemption; twenty-two miles is the catholic mission. Here is a large farm and several, extensive buildings, and a school for the Indian children, but of what number or how taught or managed, or what the appearance of the inside of the buildings, we had no means of knowing.

We took lodgings at Mrs. Bertrands, an old acquaintance from Michigan, had kind treatment and good fare. The good houses and farms belong to the half-breeds and traders, the latter are numerous. The full blooded Indian while he has a dollar of annuity pending will not work. The annuity is only twenty dollars per head, and that amount they are five times indebted for before it

becomes due. The best thing the government could do with these Indians would be to subdivide their lands and require each Indian to take a personal location, he would then have some inducement to labor and improve his farm, they should be paid no annuities only in implements, and that applied under the superintendence of the agent. But under the present arrangement the agent of the Potawatamies is of little or no advantage whatever to the Indians. Instead of being among the Indians and attending to their wants, he resides at a hotel in Westport, looking more like an English esquire than a business man; he sees the Indians once a year at the payment, and then reserves a portion of the funds in *case of need*! How does he know when they are in need a hundred miles distance from them?

Twelve miles to the west side of the Potawatamie's land you arrive at Big Vermillion creek, at the crossing is a new town called Germantown, Augustus Becker proprietor. Vermillion is a fine, bold stream, the bottom land well set with copses of timber; six miles from its confluence with the Kansas it enters the Potawatamie land, just at the crossing of the California road, immediately after the road crosses the river it forks, as heretofore stated, the Fort Riley road keeping up the Kansas, crossing Rock creek, Big Blue and Wild Cat, all these streams contains excellent land and timber. The Vermillion is a long stream and will admit of a dense population; a large opening presents itself to the emigrant on all these streams the land is all open to pre-emption.

Coal, rock, rich land and plenty of timber are predominant in this region of country, but beyond Big Blue the land becomes of a lighter, sandy cast. Beyond Fort Riley and little Blue it is exceptionably soft in wet weather, being interspersed with flinty points, some good locations could be made but are not desirable. Forty miles from Germantown brings the traveler to Fort Riley, a very beautiful locality. The frontier settlers are in danger and fearful of Indian depredations. The Pawnees have no lines of demarcation by which the soldiers are required to guard them; they could kill every settler before the army could be notified,

and then whip the army if they left the Fort. These stations are useless appendages, an unnecessary expense, consuming the worth of all the lands in Kansas every two years. The land should be given to the pioneer for settlement, and send the army into the mountains, and require them to travel from one station to the other all the time, and let the Indians know that they shall not visit the emigrant route at all.

Fort Riley is situated immediately below the junction of the Republican Fork and Smoky Hill Fork of Kansas river. Solomon's Fork and Saline Fork are tributaries of the Smoky Hill Fork. As you pass west on these main branches of the Kansas river the timber very perceptibly diminishes—the soil becomes thin and poor; a few good selections may be found west of Fort Riley and west of little Blue, but not any that we have seen more than forty miles beyond; and that distance, we should say, ought to be justly conceded to be the terminus of the territory proper, making about two hundred miles west from the eastern line, and a great portion of this must always be thinly settled. The fair estimated dimensions of the inhabitable part of Kansas is from latitude 37d. 30m. north, to 40d. 10m.; longitude west from Missouri State line 94d. 30m.; 97d. longitude west from Washington—making a square of two hundred miles east and west, and two hundred and forty north and south.

Pawnee town, a few miles below Fort Riley, on the north side of the Kansas, is supposed will be the temporary seat of Government, fixed for the time being by the Governor; it certainly will be out of the way of the Missourians so far as the small fry is concerned, but not the leaders; they will go any distance; such an idea of promoting foreign influence is preposterous.

CHAPTER VI.

California Road—Big Vermillion to Big Blue—Rock Creek—Cedar Creek—Springs—Land—Timber—Lower Crossing of Blue—Upper Crossing—Marysville—Ten Mile Creek—Little Blue—Sandy—Flinty—Marl—Room for Settlement on Blue—Cedar, Rock and Ten Mile.

At the forks of the California and Independence emigrant road at the crossing of Vermillion river, we have already said the country is delightfully good in land, timber, water and coal; pursuing the California road, the emigrant will find abundant inducement to look out a location. The prairie rolling with a few clumps of trees in the ravines, and a plenty of coal. Rock Creek, a tributary of the Kansas, fifteen miles from Vermillion, is a desirable stream, every requisite for farming; but one house, when we passed, and to our misfortune and dismay, no family in that. The house had been prepared and abandoned for the winter. The writer anticipating a lodging there, traveling east from Blue river, arrived just at dark; the weather was extremely cold, and he and his horse were exhausted, and being alone and without any means to make a fire or aught to eat, after a journey of forty miles that day, and twenty more to the nearest settlement, the disappointment nearly cost him his life; two or three times he became drowsy on his horse and dismounted to lay down in the grass, which if he had done, he certainly would have frozen. At another time the horse lost the road and a whole night in the prairie, cold, hungry and without fire, appeared inevitable.

Another year this inconvenience will be remedied, but at present the emigrant would be in danger of the Pawnee Indians by locating so far on the frontier; Fort Riley, although at a short distance, would be no protection whatever.

Here on this stream a number of families can obtain valuable farms and all open to pre-emption.

Between Rock and Cedar Creeks you pass several small streams, with copses of timber; the prairie is sometimes very high, giving a magnificent prospect when on the summit, viz: a view of the Kansas, Big Blue, and far beyond, probably sixty miles, some noted peaks of prairie we have observed that far.

Twenty miles from Rock Creek is Cedar, a tributary of Blue: the bed of Cedar is deep, banks high and narrow, good running water, the domain inviting, timber abundant, and every encouragement for a large settlement, both up and down the stream. From here the prairie is more broken to the crossing of Big Blue, yet good locations may be had, but the upland is not so rich, twenty miles from Cedar to Big Blue. At the lower crossing there are several cabins erected on the old emigrant road; good bottom land, and on the east side high broken prairies, gravelly and soft white rock. Six miles up Blue from the old California road is the crossing of the St. Joseph and Oregon emigrant road, at a town now called Marysville—a trading post of Mr. Marshall, with the Pawnees, whose locality is west. Blue river is a clear bold stream, whose banks overflow in the spring season. Ten miles beyond Blue is Ten Mile Creek and the union of the two great emigrant thoroughfares. The country beyond this longitude presents no inducement for settlement for many years. Mr. Marshall keeps a large stock of cattle; he had two hundred tons of hay consumed by fire this fall. The land is first rate but the timber shows but little inducement for the emigrant.

On little Blue about forty miles farther west there are small groves of young timber, but limited. An emigrant had settled on little Blue but was killed this summer by the Indians; it is not probable any more pioneers will attempt a location there until some arrangements are made for their protection from the Pawnee Indians, who have no annuities and we believe no agency. The troops are housed up in their barracks and never visit the frontier to awe the Indian.

CHAPTER VII.

Kansas on the North side Described—Independence and California Emigrant Road—Shawnee Reservation and Treaty of 1854—280,000 Acres open for Settlement—Now open to pre-emption—Good Timber on Reserve—Half Breeds—Civilization—White Men married in Tribe—Full Blood—Speculation—Lemon Acid—Locomotive Grocery—Description of Shawnee Reserve—Methodist Mission, Buildings, Rev. Mr. Johnson—Baptist Mission—Quaker Mission—Efforts to civilize the Indians—Stream through Reserve—Cedar Creek—Mill Creek—Kill Creek—Rock Creek—Timber—Dr. Stillman's Mission not patronized.

HAVING described a district of country along the north side of the Kansas river, showing the several water courses emptying into the Kansas, with a sketch of the resources of all these streams and of the towns, cities and settlements, actual and prospective, the writer proposes in this chapter to commence again at the junction of the Kansas and its tributaries on the south side, giving a full statement of all the important localities, towns and cities, prospective and in *essee*, describing only the tributaries of the Kansas.

The emigrant starting from Westport, a town in Missouri, situated near the line of the territory and taking the Independence and California emigrant road immediately enters the Shawnee reserve made at the Treaty at Washington in 1854. The Shawnee lands previous to the treaty extended about one hundred and fifty miles west from the Missouri line, bounded north by the Kansas river from its mouth to the Potawatamie lands, a distance of seventy-five miles, then by the Potawatamie lands and sixty miles beyond the southwest corner of these lands to its western

terminus. Its southern boundary being a line nineteen miles south of the Potawatamie land and parallel with it, extending to the Missouri state line and fifty miles wide on said line, including an area of one million, six hundred thousand acres. The Shawnees ceded all this land to the United States reserving two hundred thousand acres to be selected out of a district of country thirty miles west from the state line. After the two hundred thousand acres are selected out, then the remaining part in the thirty miles will be open for settlement by the whites, which will be nearly two thirds as much as is to be selected out by the Indians. The Indians may select in two hundred acre tracts, consequently they may settle nearly all the most valuable situations and especially the timbered land; it will leave three hundred thousand acres for settlement. The other part of the ceded country is now open for settlement and the best portions occupied.

The treaty was ratified 28th July, 1854, and the first of September the whole country susceptible of settlement was claimed and cabins raised, towns laid off and cities springing up and the hum and din of farming and mechanic's shops pervaded the whole country laying between the thirty mile reserve and the Potawatamie land, a distance of forty miles.

The lands ceded by the Shawnees above their reserves, is the only district of country on the Kansas river open to settlement, a distance of forty miles. The Shawnees are far advanced in civilization and have a number of half breeds and some shrewd white men connected with them by marriage. The full blood Indian has his Yankee notion of trade; two of them erected a locomotive grocery where they held forth in true New York style, edibles and drinkables. Observing several bottles labelled "Lemon Acid," we had a curiosity to see what were the real contents, and on calling for a glass found the bottle contained good vinegar and brown sugar, of which a spoon full was put into a glass with some creek water, at ten cents per glass, thermometer standing at 106d. Pies, cakes, apples, candy and a variety of notions composed the stock in trade in the wagon box.

Four miles from the line is the Methodist Mission of the Rev Thomas Johnson. He has a large farm and several large brick buildings. Farming is prosecuted to a large extent but the school is limited. The buildings are not all occupied and one large house is let to the Governor of the territory where he established his head quarters in November.

A Baptist Mission is in the same vicinity, also a Quaker Mission near by, the two latter have not such costly buildings, but are disseminating much useful knowledge among the Indians as well as moral and physical improvements.

The Rev. Mr. Johnson is the advocate of slavery and has several slaves employed about the mission, of which he is owner; the others are anti-slavery. So far as the influence of the traders go the proclivities of the Indians are for slavery. The efforts to civilize the Indians have in the writer's opinion been heretofore wrongly conducted. The first and principal object aimed at should not be to impose upon them a certain form of religious belief as in Missionary establishments. But the aim should be to induce them by example to adopt habits of civilized life from its superior advantages of improving their temporal condition; then when they have become educated they should be encouraged to investigate the claims of the christian religion by appealing to their reason the same as to white men. The Indian, like a child, is an adroit in reading the motives of men and in detecting hypocrisy, hence the profligacy of most of the educated Indians. They should be treated with dignity and respected and they will become dignified. It is true of them as of the anglo saxon:

"Be noble and the nobleness that lies
In other men, sleeping but never dead,
Will rise in majesty to meet thine own."

A colony of families should be located by the government in each tribe of Indians at a stated salary, whose business it should be to teach the Indians by example and precept, agricultural and mechanical arts. Such a colony of men, composed perhaps of a dozen families each, would be a check upon each other against abusing the power conferred, and do the Indian better justice at

less expense than the employment of an irresponsible agent as at present. The people should know of the abuse of power and the wrongs of the Indians under the present policy, and petition for a change.

Kansas territory was a free territory when the Rev. T. Johnson took his slaves there; since that time slavery has been tolerated by act of Congress but not legalized. Does the subsequent act enslave them, or are they not free? This circumstance is a strange comment on a christian church. What is their inducement to try to free one race from the bonds of darkness and while effecting that benevolent purpose, to doom another race of the human family to perpetual bondage and despair? We judge no man or set of men, but leave the acts and the motives for others to judge. How far the Indians tolerate slavery is doubtful; untrammelled, their predilections are for freedom. We ask the question, was not some power or authority accountable for tolerating slavery in a free territory.

The prairie through the reserve of the Shawnees is high, rolling and broken, affording a much larger amount of timber than further west, with some good springs and creeks—among them is Turkey Creek, in the vicinity of the Missouri, and Cedar, Mill, Kill, and Rock creeks, all having good timber and some bottom land—no water running, but standing in pools throughout this summer. These deep ponds and pools in the several creeks do not appear to become stagnant, but continue living water—all those above mentioned are tributaries of the Kansas river. We think many valuable claims of quarter sections may be had on this reserve as soon as the Shawnees select their several farms—but these may be immediately occupied by citizens from Missouri.

Another methodist mission on the Shawnee reserve, under the care and patronage of Dr. Sillman, is located twenty miles west from the other missions—it is said to be a mission of exemplary character. The Rev. Doctor complains of the injustice being done his mission in the distribution of the school funds by the Indian department. The Rev. Thomas Johnson, by some sham decree

or other, got to be a delegate to Congress before Kansas territory was organized; how, or by what means such an office was conferred in the then Indian territory, where no white man dared to go without permission from the United States, is something to be enquired after. Every white man who had not license to enter the Indian country was a trespasser—who elected the Rev. Gentlemen we never learned.

However, Dr. Sillman complains that the Rev. Gentlemen, in the plenitude of his power as such delegate, had all the funds belonging to missions appropriated to his own establishment, it being pro-slavery was favored in preference to the doctor's free mission. However, as the writer's opinion in regard to christianizing the Indians differs so materially from either of the gentlemen he will not venture an opinion respecting the complaint.

We say, first civilize the Indian, and then let the moral law christianize him. There is little doubt but philanthropists have begun at the wrong end.

Trading establishments and dances have been a great source of immorality; they taught the Indian what is the greatest curse in civilized life, viz: the credit system. Another system adopted with the Indians has proved a greater source of immorality and corruption than the former, viz: paying the Indian's money and goods; and yet it is astonishing that a system which is fraught with so much evil should have been persisted in for thirty years.

The government has been sounding for a long time for some safe anchorage and harbor for these aborigines of the country; they have at last grounded without obtaining either. The only alternative is left them now that ought to have been followed forty years since, to make them a self-sustaining people. There is no authority in christendom, in the bible or in civil law, for leaving a human being to lead a savage animal life where he can be retrieved by a civil government.

CHAPTER VIII.

Wakarusa River—Crossing—Quality of Land—Franklin—Prairie—Settlement—Mog Back—Views of Wakarusa country—Rock creek—Land character—Bloomington—Land above—Length of Stream—Good claims to be had—Quality of land—Musque-toes—Wet land—Pretended claims.

THE country surrounding the methodist mission last named, is very enchanting, but not being open to settlement but little interest is felt in the description. A few miles west is the Wakarusa. This is a stream of some magnitude but more celebrated for the amount of good timber and good land that prevails along the bank of the stream, than the amount of water in the channel. Wakarusa has a deep, wide bed and the appearance of a noble stream, but this summer, (1854) no water running—the water standing in ponds and pools. The bottom or flat land along the course of the stream is wide and heavily timbered with the best of quality. The road crosses at Blue Jackets, a Shawnee chief, half-blood, and an Indian of great piety and dignity of character who keeps a public house.

About a mile west of the crossing is the reserve line, running north and south ; the line is a mere conjecture, but immediately at the place supposed the pioneer settlement commences, and cabin after cabin rises in the view—hard it is for the emigrant to confine himself to the conjectural line, while the beautiful copes of timber and rich land are so inviting on the east side. No doubt all on the Wakarusa that can be taken by the Indians will be taken, and but little of the valuable left.

Two miles from the crossing of the river on the California road, on an inclined plain of the waving prairie, is the town of Franklin, it is laid off on the claim of Mr. L. B. Wallace, formerly of Indiana, Wallace & Church, proprietors. The latter is a gentle-

man of old Virginia acquaintance, all soul and music; he is one of the most perfect of violinists, and his "Old Virginia never tires," revived a thirty year's remembrance of his master hand. Franklin is a commanding location, with a beautiful prospect and a good spring. The Wakarusa is one mile and a half distant, encircling the town like an amphytheatre and supplying it with timber; on the north two miles is the Kansas river, sufficiently near for all the purposes of navigation which the river affords. Both streams are densely populated, all the country being taken up and settled on. A large trade is now carried on at the town in merchandizing.

Pursuing the California road you see the forest of the two streams on either side, and one mile from Franklin you rise a high swell of the prairie where a most magnificent view presents itself, north, south and east may be seen a dense forest of timber in an elliptical circle, with the most beautiful plains of waving prairie the eye could wish to behold. Here on this prominence Mr. Wallace has built the best and most convenient house we saw on the prairie.

The Wakarusa and Kansas, both affording within a short distance, any quantity of timber, building rock, free stone, sand stone, lime stone, and stone coal, which renders this location most desirable to the emigrant.

Proceeding four miles on the same road, a high bluff of prairie presents itself; the road winds up a sharp prominence—called in the country, "hog back point,"—a few rocks cropping out renders it somewhat rough. On rising this point, you are on the main dividing ridge between the Wakarusa and Kansas river; after having gained the ascent the traveler finds himself on table land, making off in slopes of ridges to the south, towards the Wakarusa, which stream he can plainly see for many miles and describe its course by the outlines better than when traveling up its banks; also from this eminence you will have a grand view of the Blue mountain south of Wakarusa, which is notable from the fact of the reserve line of the Sawnees crossing the summit, it is also somewhat of a mountain peak, which being uncommon renders it remarkable for its prominence.

Having traveled several times up the Wakarusia we will describe it more particularly by following its course. The Wakarusia is very crooked, running nearly parallel with the Kansas through its general course. Just previous to its junction with the Kansas it makes an abrupt bend to the north exceeding some fifty miles in length. In accordance with the peculiar structure of all the streams in the territory; it has its bluffs and high land nearly all on the south side. In the low lands and along the margin it is heavy set with timber, and has in the bed of the stream excellent building rock in any quantity.

About ten miles from the California road at the crossing, is a branch of large size named Rock creek. The main stream and Rock creek are both densely settled for about fifteen miles up.—The high prairie on the south side is rich and wide, and well adapted to farming; on the north side the bottom land is flat and frequently very wet in the spring season. Rock creek may properly be designated the south fork of the Wakarusia, it heads up with the Osage and Neasho, the latter emptying into the Arkansas river.

Fifteen miles from the mouth of the Wakarusia is the prospective town of "Bloomington," Harrison Bronson, proprietor. It has a very pretty location and a good country around it; what its destiny may be, time alone will determine. The inhabitants in this vicinity petitioned the Governor for an election to be held at this town, which petition he disregarded, to the great inconvenience of the settlers. From Bloomington up the river the land is nearly all claimed although but few settlements made. The land is rich, well timbered and well watered, and we think hundreds of superior selections of farms can yet be had.

CHAPTER IX.

Remarks—Lawrence City, Emigrants—New England Association—Fight with Settlers—No Fight—Improvements of Town—Ridge Road—View of Country—Douglas City—Roads—Settlement—Forks of Road—Character of Country—Proprietors of Town—Chunga Nunga Creek—Settlement—Potawatamie Land—Brush Prairie.

HAVING taken an extended view of the Wakarusia, which affords every requisite for the emigrant, the country being open for a large number of settlers, we will return to Lawrence city, a notorious locality on the Kansas river, a most splendid view of which may be had from the hogback ridge, a point now designated by the emigrant association at Lawrence city as "Capitol Hill." This eminence is on the California road, which road has been from the first of June 1854 up to the 15th December, a thronged thoroughfare of wagons, human beings, and stock. From this eminence the emigrant has a magnificent view of the Kansas river for miles above, its outlines being traced by the forest enclosing the stream; also of the surrounding prairies, dotted over with tents, cabins, and rude habitations of all descriptions, located far along on the dividing ridge, as well as on the bottom lands, or rather low prairies; the bottom land we have invariably designated as the low and alluvial banks of creeks and rivers. From this elevation, as well as numerous others along on the same ridge for many miles farther west, you have the view of an extended portion of the Delaware lands. On the north side of the Kansas river the dense forest comes bluff up to the river, and the high rolling prairie back for twenty and thirty miles, should the day be clear, and the same view for many miles on the south of the Wakarusia we have just described.

Such is the evenness of the table lands of the whole country of

Kansas territory, that the fire on the plains is plainly seen for thirty miles in several directions. The roads generally pursue the table land and ridges, and in this expansive view of such vast extent as of thirty, forty, and fifty miles each way, the depressions, ravines, rivers, and creeks, are overlooked or diminish into small copses of brush land. Frequently a thousand acres of timber, and sometimes miles of it, are not discovered, although within three miles of the traveler. Hence as with the writer in his first transient exploration for a location, the pioneer passes within two miles of a large body of good and valuable timber, by looking at the vast waste as he supposes far beyond. To know the country and search out its worth, you must leave the old ridge road which gives such magnificent prospects, and descend into the small drains of the head branches of the creeks and rivers, and down the ravines and gulches, over broken land and through romantic glens, and he will encounter in topography, what the highland presents no indication. Many have been deceived we know, because they see too far ahead. If the country was all forest, they would look inch by inch as they traveled on, and every ten or forty acres of rich timbered flat land, would be appreciated. From our knowledge, hundreds came to Kansas to seek a location, and the first ride along a ridge road for fifty miles or probably a hundred, dissatisfied them, and we met them returning declaring there was no timber in the country, when others more scrutinizing, would find valuable locations long afterwards.

Four miles from Franklin, turning to the right, two miles on the bank of the Kansas river, is "Lawrence city," and from the notoriety of the founders of this embryo city, it demands a page in history.

"Lawrence City" is named for its patron and abolition benefactor in Massachusetts, and is founded by the Emigrant Association of the Aid Society, of Boston. It is an eligible site for a town, its greatest and most objectionable part is the total destitution of timber; the bank on the river is a medium bluff, and rocky bed, creating a short active ripple opposite the town; the

location is rolling and sufficiently elevated for comfort. The Kansas river descending in full view from the north for two or three miles, makes a southerly bend, and after passing the city strikes off again to the north. Two miles south from the river is the promontory previously spoken of as the table land, after rising the hog back ridge, now styled by the company, "Capitol Hill." The town is out of the way of the regular traveled route up the country, and the traveler may pass it on the main road without seeing it at all. Lawrence city is laid out on a magnificent scale by the association, intending to comprise an area of two miles square. The streets at right angles, with public squares for buildings, appropriately fixed. Samuel Pomroy is understood to be the agent of the Emigrant Aid Society of Boston, and Dr. Charles Robinson, agent for the association at Lawrence. A part of the town is located on a former town, called "Excelsior," the land claimed and settled upon by a pioneer emigrant, who associated himself with others to lay out a town; they proceeded to the consummation of their project unmolested by the Yankees. After it was surveyed out, the Lawrence Association commenced and located their own "Excelsior." A tent which was placed by the Yankees on the town plat of Excelsior was attempted to be removed by the proprietors of the town, which removal was resisted by the Yankees, and a collision ensued, and a resort to arms.—When in battle array with *fusees*, revolvers and dirks, they had a very warlike appearance. A parly ensued, the tent remained on the ground, and the parties, with their belligerent manifestations, separated for the time being, to fight it out at another time, an account of which will be given in its appropriate place.

A steam saw-mill is erected adjoining the town, and in operation; and the greatest difficulty must be the timber to manufacture.—A printing press was established at this town, in October, by the enterprise of John and Joseph Speer, of Medina, Ohio, and another has followed since, from Pennsylvania; but we know the Speers as the pioneer editors to Lawrence City.

The association, as far as we could comprehend it, is conducted

on democratic principles. Every person who joins the association has a vote; they elect their officers, and decide the number of lots each shall have. Sixty lots each was first voted, but the amount of land not being forthcoming, for the number of lots required to each member, a less was substituted.

The habitations were of rude structure. Tents, log-cabins, hay-roofs, sod-houses, and every means for shelter were resorted to, yet many deplorable privations were encountered, and much suffering prevailed.

From Lawrence there is no road directly up the river, the country being much broken with ravines, gullies, steep banks, and other obstructions. The traveler, in ascending the country from there, must necessarily return to the ridge road, and in six miles farther you encounter another rise in the prairie, of some hundred feet, on top of which is a beautiful table land, and a most splendid view of the surrounding country. On this table land is a beautiful spring.

The inhabitants from the Shawnee reserve to the Potawatamie land made a conventional arrangement for the location of claims. Each settler is required to register his claim, as it is called in the common parlance of the country, and in case of dispute as to lines or priority of claim, the mass decides. Here the settlers agreed on the ridge road being a conventional line, and they take their claims on either side of the road. Thus they take their claims opposite each other, and frequently build directly opposite, their claims receding from the road. Could the surveys be made to correspond with the meandering of the road, it would do; but when the surveys are made, collisions must take place. Already do you hear the distant thunderings of the approaching storm, and the carrion crows, in the shape of pettifoggers are hovering around in numerous flocks, almost subsisting on nothing, awaiting the carnage of the approaching contest.

From this high rump of prairie, three or four miles north-west, passing some beautiful locations, almost surpassing any yet seen, is Douglas City. It is located on a high bluff of the river of Kan-

sas, studded over with copse of young timber; the ground is broken and rolling, and the country around it quite broken, and will hence require great improvements for any road to pass by the town. The site of Douglas town is not observable from any point. Mr. Allison is the claim proprietor with some other shareholders, of whom are Clark, the Indian agent of the Potawatamies, Mr. McCarty and Governor Reeder. Mr. Allison has several negroes. The town is named in gratitude to the Hon. Stephen A. Douglas of the United States Senate, for his services in the cause of "*popular sovereignty*." Another town on the opposite side of the river, on the Kansas half breed land, had been commenced, named "*Douglas city*," neither one knowing of the other, the latter by Mr. Kingkindale, both gentlemen from Missouri. As to the prospects of Douglas city on the south side, we cannot see any peculiar advantages for trade, business, or any thing else, and the country is too rugged for a railroad to pass that way. To ascend the river higher up, the trader must return three miles to the ridge road. Thus far the country is thickly settled, but for about eight miles there are no settlements, until you reach the forks of the road; during this time you have a full view of the country north and south far beyond both the Wakarusa and Kansas, but overlooking the tops of the forests on each side.

Here at the forks are three cabins; no timber to appearance near. This is the highest table land, the two rivers appearing far beneath you. A fine and durable spring on the ridge. The left hand road is the old California emigrant route that crosses fifteen miles above at the Papan ferry. The right hand road passes over a very broken section of country to the Kansas river and the town of Tecumseh.

Pursuing the California road, the whole country has the appearance of an extensive, smooth waving prairie, destitute of timber, a grand plateau of prairie, with rich soil, supplying grass for millions of stock. Over these fifteen miles there is rich land enough to supply the craving desire of thousands of farmers could they but devise a substitute for timber, which will soon be done.

Tecumseh is located on the Kansas river; a very pleasant location, and was there more timber and a prospect of a population, a good situation for a town. Thomas Stinson is the proprietor; he is allied to the Shawnees by marriage and adoption, and takes his reserve of eight hundred acres as his farm, on which he located this town. There are a number of share holders, residents of Missouri. His wife is a half breed Shawnee, and for the credit of the nation, she is one among the most worthy and amiable of women of any nation. The traveler will boast and the writer bears testimony, that Mrs. Stinson cooks a better meal of victuals than can be found at any hotel in Chicago or New York, and we never saw her table surpassed. She has her own native women as her servants, and with all she presides at the table with commanding dignity and intelligence. Her worthiness merits this much in history.

Chunga Nunga is a small creek, emptying into the Kansas at Tecumseh, has good timber, but all taken up as far as the timber extends. Above Tecumseh and west, Chunga Nunga has some large brushy bottom land unclaimed, but the timber recedes very fast as you approach the Potawatamie land, eight miles from Tecumseh, where you again intersect the California road. Three miles farther is the east side of the Potawatamie land which not being open for the settlement of the whites, a very limited description is sufficient.

CHAPTER X.

Potawatamie Nation—Baptist Mission—Character of Country—Uniontown—Buck Creek—Wanonoehot River—Indians—Mills—Country west of Potawatamie lands—Smoky Hill Fork—Land South—Kansas Land—Once owners of Kansas Territory—Letter Writers.

THE Potawatamie land extends south from the Kansas river about twelve miles, at the corner of which is a high point of prairie, known as the Shawnee corner, the peak is discernable at a great distance. There are very few of these promontories or peaks above the general level of the country. Eight miles above the east line is the Baptist Mission, superintended by Mr. Alexander. They have a large farm, and a school for Indian children, but of its prosperity and efficiency, we are not informed; but while the annuity system prevails, and they are paid a few dollars per year, the full blooded Indian will not work. The timber is very limited on the Potawatamie land. Uniontown is a trading post on the Indian land, and a very eligible situation. They have mills, blacksmith and wagon shops, but nothing conducted on the score of economy, the agent living a hundred miles off, and no one there to see to their interest.

The several streams through the Potawatamie land on the south side of the Kansas, are Buck creek and Wanonoehot river, a stream of considerable size; both of them will admit of quite a large settlement outside of the Potawatamie land, i. e. on land subject to pre-emption, especially on the Wanonoehot river, which has every requisite inviting to the farmer. These streams head up with the Osage, and we think the reason no settlements are made on them, is that it is generally supposed the Potawatamie

land extends much farther south than it does, and throws the settler far from the river. The attention of emigrants is called particularly to head the of these water courses, terminating in the Potawatamie land.

West of the Potawatamie land some good locations for farming purposes may be had, the country being all open to pre-emption; the timber is fast receding but the land is rich and lies very handsome, and some of the small streams afford abundance of timber. About thirty miles from the Potawatamie land is the smoky hill forks, the main branch of the Kansas, which has several tributaries near the forks that head up near Council Grove; for forty or sixty miles above the forks the country is still good and will admit of splendid settlements.

Council Grove is about thirty miles from the south-west corner of the Potawatamie land on the head branches of the Neosho river, and is comprised within the Kansas Indians' land. These Indians, the former owners of the whole territory, deserve a more special notice in history; their destiny is hard and their fate is a strong picture of the mutation of nations. They will be duly referred to in another chapter. It is hoped the references here made to localities in this chapter, will give such a view of the western portion of Kansas as will enable one to traverse the country knowingly, and may encourage the pioneer to prosecute his investigations, and not stop and return home as thousands have done, because he could not find a good *claim* to suit his ideal between the Shawnee reserve and the Potawatamie lands.

CHAPTER XI.

Description of land up the Missouri river—Leavenworth—Delaware and Potawatamie land—Disputed land of the two tribes—Delaware out-let—Sale of Leavenworth—Gov. Reeder—Salt Creek—Kickapoo land and treaty—Reserve—Kickapoo town—County—Land west—Williamsport—Walnut creek—Atchinson City—Remarks—Independence creek—Donaphan—Kickapoo creek—Emigration in 1840—Big bottom—Mutation of bottom—Town of Whitehead—Land in Smithfield—Remarks on—Wolf creek.

HAVING given a description of the country on both sides of the Kansas river and the tributaries of that river so minutely, that we think any casual observer will fully comprehend each locality. We propose to give in this chapter a detailed description of the country along the Missouri, up to the most northerly bend, where its course turns due west along the 40d. latitude.

We have already described the country from the mouth of the Kansas river to Fort Leavenworth, none of the land however is open to pre-emption.

In September, Mannypenny, commissioner of Indian affairs, visited the country and held a council with the chiefs of the Delawares and other tribes; the Delawares were very tenacious for the strict fulfilment of the treaty; they had got into a strong notion of land speculation themselves and they wished the land cleared of incumbrance. The commissioner promised the faith of the government for its compliance; the military were ordered to remove unlawful intruders, but instead of beginning at the first offenders at Leavenworth city, only three miles from the fort, where the troops were standing, they proceeded to some distant cabin, demolished it and returned to quarters. The news spread over the territory that the squatters had all been driven from the Delaware lands; the city of Leavenworth remained unscathed, and

the military refused farther to act in the matter. Thus the department at Washington city and the military were at issue as to duty and neutrality of the Delaware land, abandoned until the setting of Congress. It certainly would have been a difficult undertaking to have dispossessed the squatters.

Severe threats were made by both parties; the Leavenworth city speculators encouraged all the settlements they could on the Delaware land, so as to give strength; but Leavenworth city will ultimately go down. As a town it serves no convenience for any part of the inhabitants except those that reside there. As soon as the nuisance of Fort Leavenworth is removed by sending the troops to the frontier, to perform some duty, that site be will preferred for the town of that neighborhood.

The question may properly arise before Congress this winter as to how far *popular sovereignty* shall counteract the legal execution of supreme law of the land, without being considered rebellious in its tendency.

About the 6th of October Gov. Reeder arrived at the Fort; he took shares in the Leavenworth city, and on the 9th of October was the great day of sale of town lots. The news was immediately circulated of the interest Gov. Reeder had taken in the town property of the Delaware lands; this stimulated the people to the highest pitch of confidence: a Governor just coming to the territory is supposed to know everything, no one could believe the Governor would take an interest in the tresspassed lands unless he knew it was lawful so to do. The Governor, big with speculation, and buoyed up to inflation with adulation of the squatters, like a bee bird in the air, made a grab at every floating mote, and on the day of sale he purchased very largely and others thus encouraged did the same. How much he got for the *underwriting* is not known; however if the Indians receive a fair compensation for their lands it ought to be sufficient.

Nothing is more ruinous to a new country than to have the domain put up in public market, far better let the Indians retain their land than to adopt such a course of policy, especially

in Kansas, it would be more disastrous than in any other state or territory. A man of capital by purchasing one or two sections of the timber land, could command a hundred sections of prairie. This policy of allowing the land in Kansas to be sold at auction is virtually interdicting the settlement of it. No man ought to have been allowed to enter or purchase more than forty acres of timber land, nor should he be allowed to enter that much unless he was the bono fide and actual settler on a quarter section of prairie land, and every such settler ought to have it gratis. The Potawatamie Indians have been residing on this Delaware trust land and have had many good houses built by the United States upon it; but how far these lands belong to the Potawatamies is doubtful. The United States Government located them upon it as their own land, and with their own money built these fine houses, some of which the Potawatamies have since sold to the whites. On such claims is the location of the town of Whitfield, on what was supposed to be the Potawatamie lands. And although this portion is not embraced within the Potawatamie thirty miles square, yet it virtually never did belong to the Delawares.

The final disposition of these Delaware trust lands will be one of the most vexed questions and exciting subjects in the whole territory. They are first rate lands both east and west. At the time of the treaty it was supposed that the land on the Missouri river was all that was desirable, hence nothing was said about the numerous settlers on the west end, although at that time there was probably a hundred houses within an area of ten miles. At the time of the treaty too, the Delawares never pretended to claim jurisdiction over that portion, their claim now is an after thought, but there are interests that will resist it, and without doubt successfully.

The next most interesting district of country is the Kickapoo land, a strip twenty miles wide, bounded on the south by the Delaware trust land; on the east by the Missouri river; on the north by the lands of the Sacs and Foxes, and Missouri river;

on the west of the Kickapoos the land has never been appropriated to any tribe of Indians.

At the treaty at Washington, 1854, the Kickapoos ceded to the United States all this district of country excepting a hundred and fifty thousand acres to be selected by the tribe, in the western part of the land thus ceded, or they may make their selections west of their present land.

Kickapoo is a town recently laid out twenty miles above Fort Leavenworth; a paper is established there, devoted to the advocacy of slavery; the town may become a commercial point for the country back, which is rich and thickly settled. The bottom land on the Missouri contains good timber and the bluffs any quantity of coal.

Williamsport is a prospective town a short distance above. The bluffs are high and precipitous, and the land broken until you reach the high rolling prairie back some three miles; the whole country is settled on with a view of pre-emption.

Walnut creek, three miles above Williamsport, contains some valuable land and timber; from Walnut the land is very broken for six miles to the Fourth of July creek, above the mouth of which stream on the Missouri is the town of Atchinson, named in honor of Senator Atchinson, of Missouri. The town is located on some high knobs of prairie, several good houses are in progress of building. For some distance above and below the town of Atchinson, the bluffs come close into the river, brushy and almost inaccessible, a very forbidding country, but all settled and claimed.

With some little enterprise at Atchinson, and a liberality with the interior of the country, it may easily be made the depot from the Missouri river for the interior, and now is their time to give such direction to commerce with the people, while Fort Leavenworth is negative in any accommodation.

These frontier Forts are always repulsive to travelers or settlements in a new country; you must be some officer or attaché should you dare to venture inside the barracks, without a pass from head quarters.

Four miles from Atchinson to Independence creek, on the north side of the stream next to the Missouri river, is a large bottom of alluvial prairie, with high grass and timber; at the head of this bottom is Donaphan city, located on the bluffs above the bottoms and on the river. In ascending the Missouri river on one of the steam boats, the place was designated on board as the "poor knobs." But the "poor knobs" are now crowned with a far more imposing epithet. What the present great men would have done to perpetuate their memory had not Kansas been thrown open to city speculation, we cannot conjecture. How far some of the towns may honor the dignity of the statesmen whose name they bear, is yet to be seen. We have elsewhere mentioned the fact of two towns named for Douglas, within a few miles of each other, neither knowing of the other. Most of the towns of the territory are divided into shares, and mostly owned by residents of Missouri.

The prospect of a place for making a town depends very much upon the conveniences it presents to the greatest number of inhabitants upon some great thoroughfare. It also depends very much upon the liberality of the proprietors. There is much in attracting the first settlers to a place. First settlers in any country think less of distance than of the facilities for trade which a town presents.

Wolf river is settling very rapidly and will admit of a dense population. Should the proper inducements be given, Donaphan may be made the most convenient trading point for the whole settlement. The great sweep of the Missouri to the West throws the location far into the interior, which gives it a favorable location for trade.

West of Independence creek is where the Kickapoos have to make their selection of reserve. From Independence creek north, we find great abundance of good springs, and clear, running brooks. Some good locations could be had, although the country is exceedingly broken and hilly. There are some large bottoms on the Missouri, all alluvial and as mutable as the falling snow.—

There is no doubt but some of these Missouri bottoms may remain a thousand years after the deposit is made, above the ordinary floods. You may see ancient oaks that look as stationary and are as permanent as the Pyrenees mountain; but when the channel of the Missouri once begins to change its course no human art can arrest its onward march; its destination is fixed as certain as there is a rock bluff in the rear. The large bottom at Donaphan city is doomed; in a few years you will see the river sweeping the rock bluff a mile back. And also at St. Joseph, that large bottom, on which a portion of the town is built and on which thousands of the California emigrants in 1849 regaled themselves and pitched their numerous tents, is now no more. Acres would all sink down at once and lay twenty feet below the surface of its kindred earth, before being submerged in the water, and be finally carried off. Fine brick buildings are fast going; buildings, that no doubt the owner thought at the time of erecting, would stand a thousand years, and so they would, had they been built a thousand years previous,—as the earth is cut off on one side of the river, it makes up on the other, but the earth does not come from the opposite side to build with. The bar that makes up is from some far distant point.

An interesting circumstance came under the writer's notice while traveling through Donaphan city, in one of the large bottoms illustrating these changes in the river bed. Mr. Lafolgey, of Ohio, has located near the bluff, on one of these large bottoms, on the Kansas side. The bottom is very rich land, and heavily set with large oaks and walnut trees, some very large ones had fallen and decayed, others, probably a thousand years old, stand near the bluff of the hill. Near one of these very ancient oaks Mr. Lafolgey dug a well this summer, which the writer had an opportunity of examining. When he had sunk the well even with the surface of the Missouri, he came to a fire-place, with coals and ashes, all giving evidence that the whole superincumbent earth, trees and all had been absent at the time the fire was kindled.—It was evident the fire had been kindled on a sand bar where it

had just began to form for the final completion of that great bottom, the flood rose, no doubt immediately and enveloped it in sand as it was.

All these alluvial bottoms first grow over with cotton wood; the ground still rises with every flood until it comes to the highest stage, as in 1844 of the Missouri; at one of these acme-rises of the river, which are at distant periods, the water deposits a greater amount of earth than at other times. Sometimes three and four feet of sediment is deposited; after which high flood, the high water does not again reach the surface of the bottom for half a century, during which time it assumes the aspect of primitive earth.

After passing a number of rivulets, high springs and high broken, rolling land, studded over with small cabins and occasional good houses, copses of small black oak, white oak and hickory, you finally arrive at Kickapoo creek and the great Kickapoo bottom.

In this route up the Missouri, good claims not settled on could be had, but although not settled on the great portion are claimed by persons on the opposite side of the river. The eastern emigrants do not seek the Missouri for locations, particularly if they are opposed to slavery. The new settler wishes peace, he has no interest or time to speculate on slavery, or he may have an honest preference in politics. If he differs honestly in opinion from the great mass of his neighbors, an unpleasant feeling prevails, and ill will is the result. This is more true in questions relating to the policy of the "peculiar institution," than in other politics. When it depends upon a future action of the people to establish or reject it, the fear and anxiety of its final disposition beyond further control by the parties, stimulates all the ambition that fear and hope can engender in the human breast.

Kickapoo creek is a fine stream and has much good land on it. It is five miles from the crossing of St. Joseph; the Kickapoo bottom is five miles long and five wide; this stream is the old camping ground of 1859, of California memory, where the as-

sembled thousands camped the first day after crossing the Missouri, at St. Joseph. It took three months night and day for the emigrants there waiting to cross. The big bottom of Kickapoo is remembered by many thousands of anxious souls. It appeared to them after crossing the river that a great point had been gained in their journey to the gold diggings, but how deluded they were, their subsequent privations must reveal. This large bottom is all taken up and settled upon, and claims are sold on Kickapoo creek at seven hundred and a thousand dollars. Near Kickapoo creek, Mr. Milton Bryant, a very worthy and respectable slave holder, bought the good will of the more fortunate claimant for \$700,00. Mr. Bryant has a highly worthy and intelligent family, kind and hospitable, but they are wedded to their old accustomed institutions of slavery.

When we examined the country, valuable claims could be had on the Kickapoo and Wolf rivers, but the roads were thronged with wagons going to that vicinity, and probably by this time it may be occupied.

Here at Kickapoo the California road turns to the west, and the St. Joseph and Potawatamie road leads off to the south-west, terminating at the town of Whitfield. Five miles farther up the bottom is the other crossing at Whitehead's town, which we have already referred to. The town is on a very high bluff, precipitous to the water's edge. Mr. James R. Whitehead, the proprietor, was formerly a licensed trader with the Kickapoos, and has a fine establishment, as is the case with all the traders among the Indians—as well as Indian agents, and some missionaries. The country is exceedingly broken, but considerable fine timber and some rich land even on these hills. We were surprised to find such rich land on the high ground near the Missouri. There is where the other emigrant road to California and Oregon crosses the river, and, six miles back, joins with the Kickapoo road. After ascending this mountain (for it is more like a mountain than a hill) the country becomes an open, high, mountain prairie. There we lay encamped for five days on our way to California,

having lost a fine horse, and in hunting for it, became well acquainted with the country.

Five miles above whitehead town is the town of Smithfield. John W. Smith, of old Virginia, proprietor. He has one of the finest springs in Kansas Territory, and probably as handsome a location. The rock faces from the river, and a handsome level plain immediately at the base of the rock. The rock is fifteen or twenty feet high, and over this rock issues the spring just mentioned. In this rock Mr. Smith dug himself a cave, and lived a hermit for ten years.

Starting west from Smithfield on the public highway that crosses the Missouri, a fine, large road, of six miles, intersects the main California road. As soon as you rise the bluff from Smithfield, it is a high, open prairie. To the right is the most uneven and knobby land in Kansas—it is like a meadow set full of haystacks. After advancing a few miles the country becomes more even, and in ten miles, timber and habitations appear, and the country still improves west until you strike Wolf river, which we give in another chapter.

CHAPTER XII.

Wolf River—Sacs and Foxes—Land Reserve Treaty—Iowa Treaty—Bounds of Reserve—Mission—Agency—Election—Slavery—Nimchaw Line of Territory—Nimchaw Land—Free Soil Issue—Cedar Creek—Good Prairie Country Opening for Settlement—Arbana—Distance to Big Blue.

WOLF river is a very pretty, limped stream, about fifty yards wide, deep bed, and high bluffs. It is said by some journalists to be navigable, but that is not the case. It has some fine mill power near its mouth. Its junction with Missouri river is about twenty miles from the Nebraska line, running through the lands of the Sacs and Foxes—now ceded to the United States. Wolf river is certainly an important stream for Kansas Territory. It affords a fine body of land both as extensive and rich as any other we saw. Wolf creek is thickly settled for about twenty miles from where it enters the Indian land. Tracing it towards its source, five miles from its junction, it makes a great sweep to the east for ten miles, and then shoots off to the west, and continues a parallel course with the Oregon emigrant road for twenty-five miles, and mingles its branches with the Nimchaw and Grass-hopper. Wolf and the Nimchaw will ultimately exercise a vast influence in politics, on the north of Kansas, great numbers of settlers who are indifferent to either institution, freedom or slavery, will become enlisted in behalf of one or the other by a very small circumstance. On Wolf river they are generally poor or in moderate circumstances. The Indian agency is in the vicinity of the settlement, and is pro-slavery. The influence of so many accommodations as an agency may afford, undoubtedly must have its effect on an indifferent people. They have an abundance of mill power, stone coal and timber.

The lands of the Sacs and Foxes lies on the north of the Kick-

Kickapoo land, ceded to the United States, and on the north of Wolf river, extending the whole distance of the Kickapoo land, about seventy-five miles, which land is of a triangular shape. The Iowa land lies on the north, and the lands of the two tribes, before ceding to the United States in 1854, formed a parallelogram, and being divided from corner to corner, each one had a wedge-like form, except as the Sacs had a small strip east from the Iowas. The Sacs had one hundred and twenty-eight thousand acres, of which they ceded to the United States, all except thirty-two thousand, which they reserved, to be settled in one tract in the western part of the country so ceded. But if suitable land cannot be found in the country so ceded, they may select land west and north of it, but south of the great Nimehaw. Whether this selection has been made or not we have not understood, but it is a very important subject for the settlers and the Indians, because settlements have been made on nearly every stream in these lands, and hence would produce a conflict. The Iowas had the same number of acres, in a similar form with that of the Foxes—bounded on the east by the bend north of the Missouri and Wolf rivers, and on the north by the 40d. latitude, running off to a point on the west. The Iowas ceded all their lands to the United States in trust to be sold to the highest bidder, and the proceeds paid over to the Indians, after paying expenses of surveying and sale. They reserved out of these lands so ceded, a small tract north of the Kansas line, and bounded north by the Nimehaw. The Iowas had some valuable land, but their mode of disposing of it is very impolitic. Far better for the country and for the Indians if the land had remained uncoded, so wide a door does it open to monopoly and speculation. A true policy forbids the public sale of any public land in any territory, but especially in one where the timber is so limited, and one-half of the valuable land cannot be improved for the want of it. In Kansas not one tenth can be cultivated for the want of timber, hence ruinous indeed will be the result of such sales. It has other ruinous results to the liberty and happiness of

the people, which is too delicate a matter to touch upon. Far better had the United States paid an exorbitant price for the land, and donated it to the actual settlers. The plan proposed by Mr. Chapman, while a candidate for Congress in Kansas, was, that the land should be sold only to actual settlers, and that every individual who would settle upon a quarter section of prairie land should have that quarter section donated to him, and he alone should have the privilege of buying forty acres of first rate timber land at Government price. By this means a large amount of the prairies could have been occupied.

The Iowa mission has been of long standing. It is a Methodist institution, and conducted upon the principles of Christianity first, and civilization afterwards. No doubt influenced for the most benevolent purposes, but the result of their labors shows the impolicy of the course. A few children may be taught to read and write, and some well educated, but that falls far short of what ought to be done.

The agency of the Sacs, Foxes and Iowas is also near the Missouri, about thirty miles from the St. Joseph, on Missouri, on the great California emigrant road. The place of holding the late election for delegate to Congress was at the agency, a point quite out of the way for the settlers of the district, but quite convenient to the Missourians. Besides, a more powerful pro-slavery influence nowhere existed than at the agency. The agency has a mill, blacksmith shop, wagon shop, and farm, and employs about ten hands. It is conducted something on the principle of a manual labor establishment, but not in full. The country around the Iowa agency is very handsome. The country becomes more level as you advance west for a hundred miles. About fifty miles from the agency to the Big Nimehaw, over a beautiful road, little or no timber nearer the road than Wolf river on the south. No inhabitants immediately on the road. It crosses two or three branches of the Nimehaw, which have some light copse of woodland and clumps of trees. One house, half way between the agency and the crossing of Nimehaw, on the

old road, not covered or tenanted, is all the appearance of civilization for sixty miles, however a few miles south of the road, extensive settlements prevail, and is a desirable section of country. The Big Nimehaw is settled high up. About ten and thirteen miles before striking the waters of the Nimehaw, there are roads leading off to the settlements, from the old route. The Nimehaw, at the great crossing of the California road, was nearly dry, the water stood in ponds. There is an abundance of good stone coal on the Nimehaw, and large bodies of the best of timber. The country lies very pretty and the land looks handsome, luscious and luxuriant; a better district of country we have not found in Kansas. We noticed a portion of it, some years since, when in the country on business, but no anticipation then of its being open for settlement. The land on the Nimehaw has been United States land for many years, but by an act of Congress it was reserved for Indian purposes; and settlements excluded only when licenses were granted to traders.

In 1852, Wallace B. Moore made a descent upon the Nimehaw, settled at the crossing of the California road, and built a bridge over the river for the accommodation of the emigrants, as that stream in the spring season is very high, and they were frequently detained for weeks to cross. But his bridge was too low and was washed away. He has laid out a town at the old crossing, named Arbana, but his own residence is all that now graces the city, and that a log cabin, without a floor. If his habitation is rude, he has in many domestic comforts in his pioneer home. He has an active, amiable and affectionate helpmate, who shares his hermitage and labors with the most cheerful alacrity. He is a great sportsman, and furnishes hisarder with the finest turkeys and venison, served up in the nicest style, with the sweetest of milk. We had the pleasure of feasting on his bounteous stores more satisfactorily and more sumptuously than at the table of a modern palace hotel. The turkeys fatten on acorns, as also the deer, and the flesh is of a superior flavor to any we had before eaten. We remained a day to look

at the country of our ancient remembrance, and also to see some more ancient acquaintances, and a more delightful location no man need to covet. The inhabitants are all free soilers, and very teraceous of their politics. The old line they do not regard. They gave as a reason, that in Missouri the slave holders never think of any improvements with their surplus funds, but that they are always anxious to get in a large crop of hemp, to get the means to buy more negroes, so it was always more hemp, and more negroes and no public improvements. Opposed to slavery, they appeared more opposed to abolitionism, and resolved that an abolitionist should not settle in the neighborhood. An abolition pioneer had come there too seek a location on the Nimehaw, and they told him no such settlement could be made. They numbered about two hundred voters, but had no election district allowed them, although an appeal was made to the Governor in their behalf. They were known to be free soilers, and the wool was drawn over his eyes by those whom he had consulted. The Governor says that Marshall, the trader at Big Blue informed him that the Nimehaw headed north in Nebraska territory. If his excellency had taken one day's ride west from St. Joseph, he could have discovered that the Big Nimehaw did not *run up stream*, nor yet up the Missouri. The settlers were very indignant at the neglect. They were put in a district, the place of election, on the Kansas river. They will tell at the polls some day. They are the finest looking men we saw in the territory; large, stalwart fellows, who think and act for themselves. When informed that they had no place for holding an election, and that they would have to travel sixty or seventy miles to the polls, they consulted whether they should not go to Fort Leavenworth, and put his excellency across the Missouri river. They had more sincerity in this consultation than might be supposed. There was one thing that deterred them, viz: some doubts where the line of 40d. would pass through the settlements. The Nebraska marshals claimed the citizens far south of the line.

The confluence of the Big Nimehaw with the Missouri is about

five miles north of the boundary line of the territory. The stream heads in Kansas by three forks, then continues in Nebraska the greater part of its course, receiving the principle branches from Kansas until near its mouth, when it crosses the line five or six times in ten miles, and finally ends its course in Nebraska.

From Nimehaw west the country is beautiful to look upon. It becomes a level, even surface, a plateau in truth, with several small streams that afford timber, on the margin, and some of the tributaries of the Kansas river head up to the north line. The Big Vermillion or Egoma-Sha river will admit of a thick population to its source.

So far as placid beauty is concerned, no part of Kansas excels that portion between the Nimehaw and Big Blue. All that is required to develop the resources of that portion, is some capital. There appears to be water in abundance in the territory for all purposes except for machinery. A trader may pass over a section of country, that appears to him wholly destitute of water, and yet there may be an abundance within two hundred yards of him. Yet it is far from being on every section of land. Eighteen miles from Nimehaw, the Fort Leavenworth and St. Joseph, emigrant Oregon roads connect, where are there good locations and fine improvements making, fifty miles from which is the crossing of Big Blue at Marysville, already described in another chapter. But, as we have before said, the good qualities of land and timber begins to diminish towards the west, yet excellent locations can be obtained forty and fifty miles beyond Big Blue.

CHAPTER XIII.

Remarks—Santa Fe Road—Osage River—Meames Indians—Treaty with—Ponkaws and Meas—Treaty with—Parias Kas Kas-kias Indians—Ottawas and Chipewyas—Sacs and Foxes—Description of Country—Town of Ossawatimie—Potawatimie Creek—New York Settlement—Osage River—Land west of Sacs and Foxes—Kansas Land—History of the Nation—Indian Tribes.

THE Santa Fe road, as before stated, had its origin at Independence mission, as an old trading road to Santa Fe; its course is through the southern part of the Shawnee lands, on the dividing ridge, between the head waters of the Arkansas and the Osage rivers. Considerable settlements have been made on that road since the settlement of Kansas. An election poll was opened at Sixty-five Mile creek, also at Willow Springs, One Hundred and Ten Mile creek. There are many good situations on the road, but principally taken up by missionaries, if not settled on, at least claimed, preparatory to election.

As the most interesting portion of the country for future settlement is that lately ceded by the several tribes of Indians on the Osage river, we shall give a brief description of the lands in order as they lie from the Missouri State line west, so that the explorer may follow them in succession.

The Miamas are a tribe of Indians from the Upper Wabash, Indiana, formerly the owners of the country around Fort Wayne, and the Indians who fought the memorable battle of Tippecanoe in 1811, under the great prophet—the brother of Tecumseh, and said to be a Delaware.

The Miamis, in 1826 were the owners of the rich valley of the Wabash, at which time they ceded a great portion of this country to the United States, reserving some valuable portions on either

side of the river. This proximity to the whites had diminished their numbers much before leaving them. The Miami now have in Kansas lands granted them by the United States, bordering on the State of Missouri, fifteen miles by thirty. The Osage enters their land on the east and passes angling through to the North. At the treaty of Washington, 1854, the Miami ceded all their land to the United States, excepting seventy thousand acres, and one section for school purposes. No whites or emigrants are allowed to take locations on the Miami until they have made their selections of reserves.

The Piankaskaws and Was have 158,400 acres lying north of the Miami, on the Missouri State line, and bounded on the north by the Shawnee reserve. A branch of the Osage spreads through their country. The Piankaskaws and Was have ceded all their land to the United States, except one hundred and sixty acres to each individual, and a section to the missionary society. No settlements are allowed on this land until Indian selections are made. The remaining land ceded is held in trust by the United States, to sell to the highest bidder, after having been surveyed, and the proceeds to be paid over to the Indians after paying expenses of surveying and sale. The Piankaskaws and Was are tribes of the Wabash river, Indiana. There are vast rich prairies yet retaining their name.

Peorias and Kas Kaskias are tribes from Illinois, who had long since left their father-land. They also ceded all their land to the United States except one hundred and sixty acres to each individual. They had 74,030. Their land is held in trust by the United States, and to be sold to the highest bidder. After which sale all these trust lands are subject to sale at \$1 25 per acre for three years, after which the government may reduce the price of the land.

The land of the Peorias and Kaskaskias lay west from the Piankaskaws, and bounded by the Shawnee reserve north.

West of the Peorias and Kaskaskias adjoining, and bordering on the Shawnee land, lays the Ottawas land 29,120 acres—six

miles square. The Osage river runs through their land. They have not sold any, and will soon be extinct themselves.

The Chippewas have a small district of country lying on the south and west of Ottawas, being only about three miles wide, and about six miles by twelve on the south. They are the Lake Indians from Michigan. The Osage river runs a westerly course through their land, and enters the Sacs and Foxes land on the east side and passes through it to the west.

The Sacs and Foxes of the Des Moines, Iowa State, have 425,200 acres, being twenty-four by twenty miles. It is bounded on the east by the Chippewas, and on the north by the Shawnee lands, ceded to the United States. They have not sold any of their land, and it comprises a very important district of country with the principal branches of the head of the Osage. South of the Sacs and Foxes is a district of land open for pre-emption.

West of the Miami's land and south of the Parias and Kaskaskias, is the old Potawatamie land, that was first granted to that once powerful nation of Indians, and was the locality on the first emigration from the States; since which they have been changed to their present location on the Kansas river—a branch of the Osage yet retains the name of its old inhabitants—Potawatamie creek. The Potawatamies had some fine improvements made there—houses, orchards, gardens and farms. The traders among them occupied the premises when they left, and continued on the land at the organization of the territory.

Sugar creek is another branch of the Potawatamie memory, a great portion of it now is in the Miami land.

Mine river is another stream of their residence, but is also in the Miami land, and soon will be open for settlement.

Osawattamie is the name of a town laid out by a company from New York. They are real go-ahead, enterprising men. They are contemplating extensive improvements in machinery. They are free soilers, but not abolitionists, as they informed us.

The origin of the name of Osawattamie ought to be given, as there is no public officer in the army, or in the U. S. Senate

of that name. The New Yorkers will not be accused of paying court to big names for the sake of patronage. The town is located where the Potawatamie creek empties into the Osage river, and they originated a name for their town from the names of those two streams. The locality is certainly a good one, and bids fair for the future.

From the west end of the Sacs and Foxes land there is a distance of about thirty miles between that and the Kansas land. The Osage river runs a north-west course from the south-west corner of the Sacs and Foxes land; north-west course to the north-east corner of the Kansas land, a distance of forty miles. All the distance fine land and timber presents every inducement to the farmer to make locations. Several settlements are made, but a vast domain remains unclaimed. To describe the adapt-
edness of this portion of the territory to agriculture is wholly superfluous, it is rich and abounds in timber, rock coal, and good water, and fine settlements are making at One Hundred and Ten Mile creek, Willow springs, Waunonsheo.

Due west from the Sacs and Fox land fifty miles, and south from Fort Riley about the same distance is the Kansas land, which includes Council Grove. The Kansas land is twenty miles square, containing two hundred and fifty-six thousand acres. Kansas land is watered by the Neasho, or a northern branch.

This little band of Indians now comprised in the small space of twenty miles square, was at one time not far back, the proud owners of the whole territory of Kansas. They owned the country from the Arrow rock to the Nebraska river; their wigwams lined the whole Missouri river, but alas! where are they? The sad reply must be given that they are now cooped up in the small bounds of twenty miles square, almost in the remotest part of the territory, and was it not for twenty three sections of the half-breed lands on the river, the nation would be forgotten; except as the river and the territory perpetuated the name of that once powerful and warlike tribe.

In 1805, history informs us, the Kansas Indians were a great

nation. They were then considered under Spanish dominion, and the white people were among them, but they never appear to have made one step of advancement towards civilization. The country was ceded by Spain to the United States, and in 1825 a treaty was held with the Kansas tribe of Indians at St. Louis, and the whole territory of what is now Kansas, was purchased from them. In that treaty they recognized all the half breeds, and reserved to each one a section, or one mile square of land on the Kansas river, which amounted to twenty-three (23) sections donated alike to little and big, some being at that time very young. The Kansas tribe of Indians then reserved to themselves as a nation, a tract of land thirty miles square, where the Potawatamie Indians now have their land. These reserves to half breeds were located on the Kansas river, beginning at the Kansas national reserve and extending down below Grasshopper. Afterwards the United States, desirous to remove the Potawatamies from the Osage country, and make room for them on the Kansas. They exchanged with the Kansas Indians by giving them twenty miles square where they now reside at Council Grove, or other remuneration for the land occupied by the Potawatamies. Now instead of the Kansas land being a reserve at their present location, it is their land. The Potawatamie land is not a reserve, nor any other in Kansas Territory until since this last treaty of 1854. By some all Indian land is called *réserve*, but it is not so.

Kansas Territory was purchased from the Kansas Indians with the view of making it an exclusively Indian country, for the perpetual home of the several Indian tribes then scattered over the several States. They were removed from their several homes, with the faith of the government pledged that they never should again be molested, and that the land was granted to them in fee, but how mutuable are human affairs on earth!

In 1825 a railroad from New York to the Mississippi river was never dreamed of, nor was the establishment of a government in Kansas, nor was a Kansas territory even thought of at that time. The various diplomatists of Washington city in 1825 and 1832,

were as ignorant in prospective visions of the progress of improvements as the people were a hundred years before. President Jackson, with all of his sagacity, thought he could say to the population "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." The United States' troops were used to coerce the Indians to remove by promises of this as a fixed territory and their permanent homes, as it was called beyond the Mississippi river. And now see how impolitic was the measure, far better had it been for government, people and Indians, that they had remained in the States, and the proper measures taken there to civilize them. What it cost to remove the Indians would have civilized them and supported them at the same time.

The ultimatum is now fixed, the Indians must be civilized or exterminated—there is no retreat; or as the delegate from the pacific said the other day in Congress, "Mr. Speaker, there is no use trying to *civilize* 'em, all you can do with 'em is to *sculp* 'em." A new edition of tactics in civilized extermination of races.

Nearly all that portion of Kansas lying below or south of 37d north latitude, west to the Arkansas river, is Indian land, except the land originally designed for the New York Indians. The district of land above referred to lies south of the Miami land ceded to the United States, beginning south of 38d. latitude, on the Missouri line, twenty miles wide, and running west a hundred and fifty miles, cornering on the Arkansas river.

This strip of land has never been appropriated to the use for which it was designed, nor do we know of any Indians being located upon it. Including this strip of land there are about ninety miles south of the Kansas river open for settlement, excepting the several Indian locations heretofore spoken of. South of this New York strip of land, and next to the Missouri line is the Cherokee land, twenty-five miles wide, and fifty miles long. The greatest length north and south, containing eight hundred thousand acres of land. West of the Cherokee land is the Osage land, lying immediately south of the New York strip, and ex-

tending from the Cherokee land two hundred miles west. The Osage land, the Cherokee land east of it, and the New York Indian land north of the two latter, occupies the whole of the space between latitude 37d. and 38d. north, and 94d. and 98d. west longitude. This present disposition of the south part of the territory throws the centre on the north side of the Kansas river.

Neasho river (meaning clear water) is a tributary of the Arkansas river. It enters the territory of Kansas at the southeast corner, and extends some hundred and forty miles in a northwest direction through the territory, giving out numerous branches as it passes—the north branch heading in the Kansas lands at Council Grove. The water is clear, bold, rapid and rocky, not susceptible of navigation; it differs much from the Kansas river in color and placidity. The bottom lands have good timber—through the Osage land the bottoms are very rich and productive, and will produce fine cotton.

The Union mission of the Osage Indians gives a very flattering report of the products of grain, especially of the corn crops. The upper portion of the stream north of 38d. latitude, is not so fertile or productive—it affords good mill power and vast timber. The uplands of the Neasho is a light sandy soil some inclined to be gravelly, produces small grain in abundance but corn does not flourish. The country in the vicinity of the river and its tributaries affords an abundance of good spring water. Stone coal is found in sufficient quantities for the supply of all demands of the country. It is said there are minerals, such as lead and iron ore, the existence of which we have no certain knowledge. The south branch waters the New York Indian lands, running a west course through the same until it mingles with the little Arkansas, a tributary of the big Arkansas.

Verdigris river is also a tributary of the Arkansas, and enters the territory south of the Neasho river, in two separate branches, east and west forks, the two branches running nearly north, and heads in the land designed for the New York Indians. The great portion of the two branches in Kansas territory is confined to the

Osage Indian country, which is an excellent body of land rich and fertile, presenting a great inducement to the farmer. The climate of this section of country is certainly far more mild than on the Kansas, although the distance is but little over a hundred miles south.

Little Osage and Marmaton rivers are tributaries of the Osage river, they both enter the territory from the east side, between the Miami land and the Cherokee land south, noticing the east portion of the land reserved originally for the New York Indians; both those streams contain good land but none of it as desirable as the Kansas land. We have seen numbers who had removed from the former to the latter, with the same opinion.

On the Marmaton river stands Fort Scott, and as there is no portion of the lands south of this stream open for settlement, the farther particulars we omitted.

Some of the tributaries of the upper Arkansas, such as little Verdigris and little Neasho, head up in the lands open for settlement, is in the New York Indian lands, having their confluence with the Arkansas, in the Osage Indian lands, and would be well worth the exploring by the emigrant; certainly that district of country is very remote from commerce, and the business part of the territory. yet a colony might penetrate that far, taking with them all the necessaries of life, make very preferable locations; the grazing for cattle being superior to the north.

The Neasho is in some respects rather superior to the big Osage, but the former being more remote from the immediate access of immigrants from the states, is not so desirable for present residents. The Osage river west of the Sacs and Fox Indians land is superior for productions to the east portion. On the eastern portion of the streams in the territory the rock formation approaches too near the surface of the ground, and in dry seasons is destructive to crops; also but few springs rise to the surface of the ground. We are inclined to think several parts of Kansas territory will be subject to the same disadvantages in dry weather, by the rocks approaching too near the surface.

The extraordinary cracking of the ground in dry weather has already been spoken of as extending one and two feet deep; this must be occasioned by the superficial underlay of rocks, which may be observed cropping out on the hill sides of the table lands. Whether the farmers have had reference to depth of soil in their selections of tillable land throughout the country, will be seen next summer in their first productions. Several who attempted to sink wells, could not penetrate farther than four or five feet before they were arrested by the limestone rock. But in regard to this, much will depend on the season; should the season prove wet, the defect will not be experienced, and to small grain it is not as injurious as to cotton or corn. No crop that is harvested in the early part of the season will probably be in so much danger.

The Potawatamies were the first Indians on the Osage, and from some cause they did not succeed in farming, they willingly exchanged for Kansas.

In conclusion of the description of the country in this chapter, we would say again to pioneers, that we have, during our sojourn in the territory, seen hundreds of emigrants come to Kansas territory and penetrate about seventy-five miles to the interior, and finding the timbered land all claimed, and occupied, became discouraged and returned home never again to see it. It is true that timber is an indispensable appendage for farming, but the greater portion are much deceived in the amount of timber. They can see over too much space at a time, and in that expansive view, they overlook vast quantities of timber land.

Again, the emigrant does not advance far enough west. Every individual we met appeared desirous to find his location within the thirty or forty miles distance, on the Kansas River; and if he failed in that, he left dissatisfied. Then, although the timber certainly recedes as fast as you advance west, yet, proceed a few miles farther than the Potawatamie land, confine your vision within reasonable bounds, be careful in your examination of the

several tributaries of the Kansas river that head south and for forty miles above the Potawatamic land to Smoky Hill forks of the Kansas, and if the emigrant is reasonable in his epicurian propensity for timber, he can find a thousand good quar or sections on the several streams which empty into the Kansas.— Mission creek, Deep creek, Wanonoehoe river, Mill creek, and up to the Smoky Hill forks to Clark creek—some of these afford good mill power, and more or less timber, and good land—and is probably superior to the Osage when it is opened for settlement, as all the country above spoken of, and in a previous chapter, is now open for pre-emption claims.

CHAPTER XIV.

Climate—Health—Formation of the Earth—Drainage—Soil—Productions—Swamps—Grass—Kansas River described—Bottom Land—Timber—Commerce—Wild Game—Wild Fruit—Water Power—Comparison with other States and Territories—Nebraska—Oregon—Washington—Utah—Iowa—Missouri—Manner of Farming—Fencing—Osage Orange.

THE latitude being the same as that of southern Ohio, Indiana and Kentucky, it would have a similar climate, was it in the same altitude; as it is, we find it colder in the winter and warmer in the summer. Heavy winds prevail, not as sudden gusts, or as tornadoes, but as a constant heavy current in one direction, two or three days at a time, dense almost as water, and seemingly sufficient to tear a common piece of sheeting to tatters.

The spring water is strongly impregnated with lime and marie yet Kansas cannot fail to be healthy. There are no marsh lands; nothing to engender the *miasma* or *azote*. The air is more serene and placid than in the east. You can discern objects at a much greater distance than in the States. Heavy thunderstorms prevail, whether more severe than in the States, or whether the openness of the country gives them that appearance, we do not know. Both in the spring and fall season of the year we have witnessed something awfully sublime in the electric influence in these regions. The thunder rolls in angry fury; the clouds appear to descend to the earth, and envelope the wayfaring man in their murky mist; the lightning flashes in livid flames; the vividness of the lightning accompanying the crashing roar and peals of thunder, transfixes the beholder with an awe of wonder that he is alive among these fiery elements; not a tree or

or bush to court the direction of this electric flame. One scarcely knows at which most to wonder his escape or its sublimity.—The cattle on the plains stand in great terror of this wary element, and well they may; we have known forty head to receive their death stroke at one flash, on the plains.

The substratum of the whole country is limestone, which is found everywhere in great abundance, well shaped for building purposes, and of suitable sizes. This limestone is found about four feet below the surface of the table lands, and cropping out on the hill sides and on the bluff sides of the creeks and rivers, where large bodies of sand-stone free-stone and granite exist.—The general formation of the earth is hard, smooth clay, of a fine texture, which becomes very hard in dry weather, and easily removed by irrigation.

The traveled roads are very smooth in dry weather, never dusty, appearing the consistency of hard soap, and when washed with floods and rains form deep gullies on the hill sides and inclined plains, so that another route has to be substituted for the old track.

Great flats and level plains are not found in Kansas as in Indiana and Illinois. In the latter, are large districts of country without any drainage to carry off the water, but in the former, every portion has its drainage, by the continued ramification of some large water-course up to the great dividing ridge of the main streams, and each branch becoming more numerous form narrow points as they ascend towards the table land.

The soil is a black, rich, productive loam, capable of producing every variety of vegetables. Cotton, hemp, corn, sweet potatoes of very fine quality—every luxury that can be desired for culinary purposes, may be raised there. There are no swamp or marsh lands in the territory. The whole face of the country is a meadow; heavy swarths of grass can be cut from the hill sides and tops of the ridges.

The bed of the Kansas river is about four hundred yards wide, the water turbid, clay colored, current placid and smooth, running

about one and a half to two miles per hour. The south side of the Kansas is generally high banks and bluffs, deep ravines and broken ground. In but few places the river from the south side can be approached with ease. The north side has but one or two places where the bluff or high bank approaches the river, and that for a very short distance; the bottom of the bed is, in the general, quicksand. In some few places a rock bottom approaches from the south side, and penetrates far into, or across the stream, but not entirely over, and forms one or two ripples. The main channel this summer was about ten feet wide and two feet deep. But the continual changes of the sand bars renders the location of the channel uncertain; a shallow place one day may be washed into a deep hole the next. The river is not used by the Indians for navigation at all. Not a canoe is to be seen on the river, which surprised us very much, as the stream is seldom forded.—The roads are so fine throughout the country that they have generally been resorted to for transportation.

The bottom land of the Kansas is sandy and alluvial; the timber on the lower part, and on ground that is overflowed every year, is cotton wood of a large size, resembling the mountain poplar of the States. Farther back on the bottom there is white oak, elm, walnut, cherry, white ash, hickory, honey locust, sycamore and blackberry. The timber is good, and splits well, but is short bodied. The white oak is very productive of the acorn.—The bur oak yields an enormous large, rich nut, with a heavy rough burr, on which the hogs feed all winter, and fatten in great abundance.

The timber is confined to the rich bottom lands and the heads of ravines. At the heads of gullies, ravines and steep places, there are large growths of young timber, saplings of black oak, hickory and white oak, that have been preserved from the action of fire through some peculiar seasons of wet weather, until they grew large enough to smother the grass, and finally maintain their *sovereignty*—whether *poplar* or oak. No doubt, timber *sovereignty* would prevail in Kansas, could they enact laws to

suppress the *sovereignty* of fire, which probably will only be effected by time and stocks of cattle. This season (1854) has been very destructive to young timber. While the leaves were yet green, the traveler could see, in the distance, where the fire had scorched whole forests of young timber, the leaves being wilted brown, twenty and thirty feet high, which damaged the growth and caused many to die. Irrigation and legal measures ought to be taken to arrest the further action of the fire, and the whole country will soon be set with thrifty timber.

The commerce of Kansas, from present appearances, must consist of horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, flour, hemp and cotton. All these may be produced in great abundance, and sold in a foreign market. Corn, oats, rye, potatoes and various esculents may be produced for home market with equal success. To the foreign market, conveyance must be by the Missouri river, until rail-roads are constructed, when they will be but two or three days behind Ohio and Indiana, to the eastern market.

Wild game is very limited. The turkey and prairie chicken are the most common. Deer are scarce, and bears seldom seen. Quails prevail in large numbers. Gray squirrels are common.—Of all the destructive animals, wolves are most numerous; they are of all colors and sizes. The badger is a beautiful, slow, stupid animal of dapple grey, the shape of the body and nose resembling the ground-hog of the States. Raccoons are frequent.

Wild fruit is very limited. Walnuts, hickory-nuts, hazle-nuts, acorns, and sometimes pecons are found. Crab-apples, plums, strawberries, raspberries, blackberries and grapes are found, but in no abundance. On the Missouri bottoms and in all the timber land wild honey is found in great abundance.

Spring water is plentiful in some localities, and is confined mostly to the ridges. But few streams have a sufficient quantity of water to be advantageously controlled for hydraulic purposes. The rise of water is so sudden and so great, that the difficulty of controlling it, renders it wholly unavailable as a water-power. But few of the small streams have constant water throughout the

summer season, at least those that could be controled for hydraulic purposes with pecuniary advantage.

COMPARISON.

A comparison of Kansas territory with the relative advantages of other states and territories may not be uninteresting to the reader or the emigrant. In point of soil, it is not excelled by any of the states that the writer has visited, or of the territories either. As regard only the fertility of soil, Kansas is superior to any of the territories and to the greater portion of the States.

Nebraska territory is not only inferior in soil, but in every other requisite for farming and commercial purposes. It has neither the timber, water, soil, rock, minerals, or navigation that Kansas has, nor can it produce the same variety of articles, being farther north.

The writer has visited almost every portion of Oregon, Washington, and Utah territories. Oregon territory, in fertility of soil, comes the nearest to an equality with Kansas. Oregon has timber, is on a sea-board, and has superior advantages for navigation, and has a better climate than Kansas, but cannot produce the same number of commodities. Corn is a great staple, and must ever remain so, which Oregon cannot produce at all.

Oregon does not produce better grass than Kansas, nor does any of the up land produce as good. But the climate being so much milder in the winter season, stock is raised with less trouble than in Kansas; although milder in Oregon, the winters are very disagreeable, being continually wet and sloppy. Throughout the entire winter, all the flat land is like a marsh; the summer season is more pleasant than Kansas, being cool and having an agreeable air of the most refreshing and invigorating quality—although warm in the winter it is too cool for corn in the summer, as before mentioned. The three years the writer was in Oregon, the most extensive sowing of small grains was done in January and February, especially in Washington territory two degrees north; the winter wheat was sown until March, the greater portion how-

over, in February. Oregon has not the advantages for commerce that Kansas has. Before the discovery of gold in California. Oregon was miserably poor; she then inflated to a monstrous extent, having an exorbitant price for every commodity produced, California then, in 1849-50 & '51, produced no grain; since which time, she produces a large surplus of every kind of marketing. And Oregon has again collapsed into poverty, from being without a market. The citizens of Oregon had become rich, and had, in the golden days of '49 and '50 become so accustomed to extravagance that in this collapsed state of the market they must again become miserable and destitute.

California State can supply the whole pacific coast with provisions, and will do so when the gold fails. California is far superior to Kansas for everything; soil, climate, productions, commerce, navigation, agriculture, stock raising, timber and minerals.

Washington territory is inferior to Kansas in point of soil, it being exceedingly poor and sterile. She never can have any reliable market; her timber, coal and fisheries, constitute her whole commerce; her navigation is the best in the world. Washington territory has more seaboard coast and safer harbors than any other territory of the same size on the globe; she has an abundance of fish; her good soil is timbered, yet but very little of it is capable of tillage; her climate is delightful; her timber cannot be excelled, for navy yards and ship building it is invaluable.

Utah is inferior to Kansas in soil, and is wholly destitute of commerce or navigation.

Concerning Minesota and New Mexico we do not know enough to give any opinion.

Iowa has not as good soil, but better timber; there is a vast amount of sandy, marshy, poor land within its limits. At no time did we find the grass as good as in Kansas. Iowa having the Mississippi river on one side and the Missouri on the other, has some advantages in commerce over Kansas, but Kansas must become the great thoroughfare of the East India trade by the Pacific rail road, passing through the center.

The state of Missouri has as much good land as Kansas, and much more timber. Missouri has many superior advantages in navigation and minerals, and may be justly styled vastly superior in every point of view.

Compared with Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, Kansas has but few advantages; its agricultural productions will be equal to either, and in the general, superior, so far as acre for acre is concerned; but the locality of Kansas is to a great disadvantage, to either. For stock raising, it is superior to either. Many of the states and territories have far superior water power and more extensive minerals than Kansas.

The persons for whom Kansas is suitable, are all those, rich or poor, who have no land in the states. The prairie land destitute of timber, is more suitable for the rich man than the poor man. The man in the states who has a small farm of fifty or a hundred acres, and a large family of five or six children, depending on his little farm for support, would do well to emigrate to Kansas.

CULTIVATION OF LAND.

The commencement of the cultivation of the soil in Kansas, is considerable of an item with the pioneer emigrant; the first year all wish to be engaged at the same time in breaking up the soil for a summer crop. On the upland prairie it requires some capital. A team of four or five yoke of oxen and a large prairie plow will be necessary; but this amount of capital, which would be for one man about three hundred dollars, may supply the wants of three or four farmers for a moderate beginning. Four or a less number may join teams (one plow answering for all) and break up sufficient for their purpose the first year. The ox team requires no feeding during work; fifteen or twenty acres will be sufficient for the support of a family for the first season; the grass on the prairie affording ample provender for the stock through the winter. Breaking prairie will cost about three dollars per acre; ten acres of ground will afford sufficient eatables for a family of

five persons, and supply them with an abundance of eggs, chickens, butter, and milk, through the first year. After the grass is consumed by stock so that wild hay cannot be obtained from the prairie, then it will require more cultivation. The fencing is a much greater item the first year; the corn crops require a good fence, but the heavy expense of this may be superceded in a great measure, by a half dozen neighbors joining fences, at one fourth the expense that would be required for one farmer to enclose his ten acre field. In regard to fencing, there are a number of modes that the pioneer understands resorting to for economy and efficiency. The first year is all the difficulty the poor man has to surmount; you cannot find any mind more fruitful for substitutes than the pioneer; give him the same amount of capital and he will live and flourish where the slaveholder, with no other support than three or four negroes, will starve to death. After the first year there is always an abundant surplus of breaking up teams, and there will be no difficulty for the poor man to open up a good farm with his labor. Only donate him a quarter section of prairie and he is sure to make a farm. The great economy in fencing is the least amount of timber required to construct it. Stakes four feet six inches long, two inches square, drove in the ground eight inches, and a slat nailed on to keep them steady, is probably the most economical for a timber fence. A ditch on the outside will be a sufficient barrier for two or three years, during which time, the Osage Orange may be maturing inside the fence, which ought to be sowed by the farmer the first year. But almost every farm will have rock sufficient to make the main fences, as soon as time will permit.

It is a very grievous mistake to suppose that the country is not suitable for the poor man; his only fear is of not being able to compete for the purchase of his land; but there is no place in the world a poor man can make a beginning easier than in Kansas territory.

CHAPTER XV.

Law of Pre-emption—Lands subject to Pre-emption—The amount—Who may Pre-empt—The method to protect the right—Letter of the Commissioner of the Land Office—Rules of the Land Association

Abstract of Pre-emption laws, by R. R. Andrews, Esq., of Fort Leavenworth, and published in a Kansas City paper:

"I send you herewith, for publication, the following abridgment of the pre-emption law of 4th September, 1841, the provisions of which have been applied to the public lands of this territory. This I do at the suggestion of some of the actual settlers, and because I believe that at the present time it is inconvenient for most of the pre-emptors in Kansas to peruse that law as readily and frequently as they might desire. The act may be found in volume 5, of the United States at large, pages 453-458:

I. LANDS SUBJECT TO PRE-EMPTION.—By section ten of said act it is provided that the public lands to which the Indian title had been extinguished at the time of the settlement, and which had also been surveyed prior thereto, shall be subject to pre-emption, and purchase at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre. And the act of 22d July, 1854, section twelve, the pre-emption of unsurveyed lands is recognized as legal. Lands of the following description are excepted: Such as are included in any reservation, by any treaty, law or proclamation of the President of the United States, or reserved for salines, or for other purposes; sections sixteen and thirty-six in each township, they being reserved for school purposes (organic act of Kansas, section thirty-four); lands included within the limits of any incorporated town, or which have been selected as the site for a city or town; lands actually settled and occupied for the purpose of trade and not agriculture; and lands on which are situated any known salines or mines.

II. The amount designated, is any number of acres not exceeding one hundred and sixty.

III. WHO MAY PRE-EMPT.—Every person being the head of a family, or widow, or single man, over the age of twenty-one years, and being a citizen of the United States, or having filed his declaration of intention to become a citizen, as required by the naturalization laws. But no person shall be entitled to more than one pre-emptive right; and no person who is the proprietor of three hundred and twenty acres of land in any state or territory of the United States; and no person who shall quit or abandon his residence on his own land to reside on the public land in the same state or territory shall acquire any right of pre-emption.

IV. THE METHOD TO PROTECT THE RIGHT.—The pre-emptor must make a settlement on the land in person; inhabit and improve the same, and erect thereon a dwelling. And when the land has been surveyed previous to settlement, the pre-emptor shall, within thirty days of the date of settlement, file with the register of the proper district, a written statement describing the land settled upon, and declaring the intention of such person to claim the same under the provision of the pre-emption law. And within twelve months of the date of the settlement, such person shall make the requisite proof, affidavit and payment. When unsurveyed lands are pre-empted (act of 1854,) notice of the specific tracts claimed, shall be filed with the surveyor-general, within three months after the survey has been made in the field. And when two or more persons shall have settled on the same quarter-section, the right of pre-emption shall be in him or her who made the first settlement; and questions arising between different settlers shall be decided by the register and receiver of the district within which the land is situated, subject to an appeal and revision by the secretary of the treasury of the United States.

And the settler must make oath before the receiver or register that he or she has never had the benefit of any right of the pre-emption act; that he or she is not the owner of three hundred and twenty acres of land in any state or territory of the United States, nor hath he or she settled upon and improved said land to sell the same on speculation, but in good faith to appropriate to his or her own exclusive use and benefit; and that he or she has not directly or indirectly made any agreement or contract, in any way or manner, with any person or persons whatsoever, by which the title which he or she might acquire from the govern-

ment of the United States should enure in whole or in part to the benefit of any person except himself or herself; and if any person taking such oath shall swear falsely in the premises, he or she shall be subject to all the pains and penalties of perjury and shall forfeit the money which he or she may have paid for such land, and all the right and title to the same; and any grant or conveyance which he or she may have made, except in the hands of bona fide purchasers for a valuable consideration, shall be null and void.

Proof of the requisite settlement and improvement shall be made by the pre-emptor to the satisfaction of the register and receiver, in the district in which the lands so claimed lie, who shall each be entitled to receive fifty cents from each applicant for his services rendered as aforesaid; and all assignments and transfers of the right hereby secured prior to the issuing of the patent, shall be null and void.

In the above I have sought to give all the material parts of the pre-emption act in as condensed and clear a form as practicable; trusting it may be of service to those who wish to avail themselves of the beneficent provisions of that law."

The following letter from the Commissioner of the land-office may also be of service to settlers:—

GENERAL LAND OFFICE,

OCTOBER 13th, 1854.

SIR:—In reply to the inquiries in yours of the 10th instant, in relation to the "rights of settlers in Kansas" I have to state:

1. That a "squatter" will not be allowed to take more than one hundred and sixty acres by pre-emption.

2. That the "terms of payment" will be one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre, at any time after the survey, and before the commencement of the public sale, including the land settled.

3. The "putting steam saw or grist mills in operation on mill sites" will *not* give a *preference* right.

4. Payment and entry can be made after survey, and before public sale.

5. The purchase money can not be paid a portion at one time and a portion at another; nor can the pre-emptor *sell his right*, and the purchaser stand in his place.

6. The *requisites* to a pre-emption will be perceived from the accompanying copy of a circular from this office.

7. Information with regard to lands not subject to pre-emption may be obtained from this office.

8. Settlement reserved for the survey will take the precedence of the Indians.

I. All lands within the limits of that area of the lands in the territory of Nebraska, which were ceded by the Delawares, Indians, and Waponts by treaties in May last, are subject to pre-emption, with the exception of the "outlet," with the Delaware cession. The lands thus ceded (with the exception mentioned) are to be offered at auction, to be sold for the benefit of the Indians.

The "outlet" referred to is subject to pre-emption, because it is excepted from the lands to be thus sold, having been ceded for the specific sum of ten thousand dollars.

JOHN WILSON, Com'r.

As the lines of the government survey will not correspond with those of the claims, the claimants agree that they will mutually convey to each other, so that each shall obtain, as nearly as possible, his own.

Such rules of a squatter association are here subjoined:—

WHEREAS, the laws of the United States confer upon citizens the privilege of holding land by pre-emption right: and whereas the Kansas valley, in part, is now open for such settlement, or location of claims; and whereas we, the people of this convention have, and are about to select homes in this territory, and in order to protect the public good, and secure equal justice to all, we solemnly agree and bind ourselves to be governed by the following ordinances:

FIRST. We recognize the right of every citizen of the United States, of lawful age, or who may be the head of a family, to select, mark, and claim, two hundred and forty acres of land, viz: one hundred and sixty acres of prairie land, and eighty acres of timber land—and who shall, within sixty days after the treaty is ratified, proceed to erect thereon a cabin, or such other improvements as he may deem best and shall, within sixty days after the ratification of the treaty, enter thereon as a resident.

SECOND. A claim, thus made and registered, shall be good sixty days from the ratification of the treaty, at which time the claimant, if the head of a family, shall move upon and make his home, on either the prairie or timber land, which shall make them both good, and shall be regarded so by the settlers. Single persons, or females, making claims, shall be entitled to hold them by becoming residents of the territory, whether upon their claims or

THIRD. Any person making a claim in *chose*, shall be entitled to a day at least, for every acre under their personal care to reach their families.

THIRD. No person shall sell his *chose* and *chose* directly or indirectly.

FOURTH. No person shall be allowed to *reclaim* upon any previously made claim.

FIFTH. All persons failing to commence improving, or entering the *chose*, within the time specified, shall forfeit the same, and it shall be lawful for any other citizen to enter thereon.

SIXTH. Each claimant shall, at all reasonable times, hold himself in readiness to point out the extent of his claim, to any person who may wish to ascertain that fact.

SEVENTH. It shall be the duty of the register to put every applicant upon proof, oath, or affirmation, that the claim offered for registry is free from the claim of any other person.

EIGHTH. Every application for registry, shall be made in the following form, viz: "I apply for certificate of registry for a claim select 1 and marked on the — lay of — 185, lying and being in — containing one hundred and sixty acres prairie land, and eighty acres of timber land, and declare upon honor, that the said claim was selected and marked on the — lay of — and that I am claiming but the one in my own right, and that it was not claimed by any other person or selected to be signed by the applicant." Any person failing to make this certificate shall not be entitled to register.

NINTH. We agree on the surveys of the territory to mutually deed and redeed to each other so as to leave the land as near as possible as claimed."

CHAPTER XVI.

Lawrence City—Excelsior City—Threatened Fight—Missourians Rallied—Great Excitement—To Arms—Fight Prevented—Abolition Oligarchy and Slaveholding Oligarchy Compared—Stolen Tent.

LAWRENCE CITY being a town of so much notoriety and interest in the country, demands a chapter in history to record some of the exciting incidents connected with its first settlement.

When the Massachusetts emigrants arrived at their present locality last August, the land on the river was all claimed and settled upon; they finally succeeded in purchasing one quarter on the river, for which, or the good will of the settlers, they agreed to give one thousand dollars. Adjoining this quarter on the east was a most eligible claim, belonging to one Baldwin; not succeeding in purchasing his good will, they conceived the project of getting possession of it under the provisions of the pre-emption law, where it says: "No man shall pre-empt any town or incorporated city." Their construction of the act was that if they could lay out a town upon any settler's claim, it would prevent him from holding a pre-emption. With this view they sent an agent (Mr. Blood) to Washington to ascertain from the commissioner of the land office, the legal effect of the pre-emption law.

During the absence of this agent, Mr. Baldwin associated himself with Messrs. Babcock, Stone and Freeman, to lay out a city upon his claim, he still residing upon it. Accordingly they proceeded and laid out the "City of Excelsior," before the Association had commenced their town.

When Babcock & Co. had their city ready for sale, one of the Yankees had pitched his tent upon a portion, which was looked upon by the Excelsior company with some suspicion of a "Greecian horse," and advised Baldwin that the suspicious intruder had better be removed, preparatory to selling lots. This removal he was about to undertake, when the alarm was given and the whole Yankee corps assembled under the direction of their chief, Dr. Robinson, armed to the teeth with fuses, revolvers, and dirks, to resist the removal of the tent; no blood was shed and a parley ensued. Babcock attempted to rally the settlers to arms to oppose force by force, but not succeeding that day, and being outnumbered ten to one, they abandoned the tent-removal for the time being.

About the time of this hostile movement, Mr. Blood arrived from Washington, with the good news that the Association could take what land they desired for their city. Thereupon they immediately commenced laying out their town and spreading it over the town of Excelsior with as much confidence as a United States' surveyor would subdivide the United States domain, and that was the last of "Excelsior." If one city was available to hold the land, why not another, excepting as *might gives right*?

A great antipathy existed between the yankees and settlers throughout the country. A meeting was held, and resolutions passed by the settlers, that the claim of Baldwin should be relieved from the incumbrance of the yankee tent, and the 14th day of October was fixed for deciding the contest. But previous to this time the settlers met to the number of twenty-five, armed and equipped for war, determined to remove the obnoxious tent from the town of "Excelsior." The yankees soon paraded to the number of one hundred and twenty-five, well armed for any emergency. Near the tent stood a log-cabin, the cracks partly open. In this cabin the yankees took shelter. They were in shooting distance of the tent. The settlers were in the open prairie, fully exposed to the fire of the yankees. The settlers, instead of marching up to the tent, and boldly removing it, as

they might have done, stood off in shooting distance, and sent a sister of Baldwin to effect the removal. The woman took down the tent, and was bearing it off, in full view of both armies with guns poised, when just before she crossed the line, lest it should lose its magic spell, two or three stout yankees sallied out, and returned the tent to its location. The Missourians, as they were called by the yankees, either through fear of killing the woman, or through fear of the return fire, did not assault, but by proclamation, challenged the yankees to come out of the cabin and take a fair fight, they being six to one. The yankees having accomplished all they wished, declined the challenge.

The Missourians of the territory, and the Missourians resident of the State of Missouri, had threatened to drive the yankees from the country, and now they were formally called upon by the settlers to aid in the maintenance of their legal rights. Runners were sent to Missouri for aid, and due notice given of the day. Every preparation was made for a severe contest, and a large force from Missouri expected. Mr. J. B. Chapman was requested by both parties to speak to them that day, to which he assented, provided they would not come to the ground with arms, which condition was agreed to. The day of battle arrived, and much anxiety was manifested. A large number of people assembled, and Mr. C. addressed them on the political interest of Kansas, and the necessity of peace and harmony. They all became absorbed in politics, and relinquished the contest for a claim. All appeared well pleased that the matter at issue was disposed of so quietly, excepting the agent of the Aid Society, Mr. Pomroy, who is a man of great self-importance and contracted prejudices. He seemed disappointed that he had not had a more conspicuous part to act in the winding up of the drama.

The Massachusetts Aid Society were unwise or unfortunate in the selection of an agent to give the Association influence in the country and secure confidence. Mr. Pomroy being overbearing and dictatorial in his assumptions of authority in the Association, even presuming to bargain off their votes, it is alleged, tended

greatly to prejudice independent freemen against the association, and hence against the principles advocated by them.

The selfish and proscriptive spirit of some members, but more particularly of the leaders of the association, drove from the anti-slavery ranks great numbers of non-committal citizens, just as the proscriptive spirit of the Missourians drove from their ranks great numbers, who would otherwise, from negro prejudices have chosen a pro-slavery policy. This third class have no cordiality with either extreme, regarding the oligarchy of abolitionism quite as oppressive and repulsive to an independent spirit, as the oligarchy of slaveholders. They have as yet no separate organization, but will yet rally under the independent standard of American liberty.

About the time of the Excelsior and Lawrence contest, to decide which of the two gentlemen should be the city, several rather exciting incidents occurred. The Yankees had numerous little military mess tents of heavy thick canvass, which they stuck all over the country on nearly every man's claim; the public lines not being run by the United States, it was uncertain where they might fall, hence every neighbor had an appendage of one of these, similar to the one on which war was formerly declared. One day one of these tents was missing; some wag or unruly wight had come along and beholding its lonely condition, had pitched it into a tree top. Immediately the Yankees were like a disturbed bee hive; guns and revolvers were loaded, belts with bowie knives and dirks were hurriedly fastened on as though the Cossacks at Inkerman were coming down upon them, and arms were fired off to insure good order. The writer was just at this moment passing through the village of Lawrence to see a neighbor who had a claim adjoining the Yankee town, a man of respectability, who had been a captain in the Mexican war, and of undoubted bravery; we had just entered the house and began to relate the war preparations in town, (not knowing the cause,) when eight or ten strong men, armed to the teeth, each having a fuscé, revolver and bowie knives, rushed in at the door; not being

guilty of any crime, we felt no alarm; they demanded to search the house for a stolen tent and shot gun. The lady requested them to wait until her husband could be sent for, and immediately sent for him; but we knew that would not do, that if he were there, he would kill them on the spot, and advised the lady to permit the search, and a big, ugly looking Sythian Yankee commenced searching more minutely than could have been anticipated for a tent cloth; he began his search in the band boxes and among the ladies' fine clothes; we then demanded his authority. He showed us a pretended warrant, issued by one of the defacto petifoggers of the town; we told the leader he was no gentleman to make such an unreasonable search. We began to feel excited at their rude and unmanly conduct, and they left before the husband arrived. When he came home, we endeavored to dissuade him from resenting it, but to no purpose; he armed himself, and approached the agent, Dr. Robinson, and demanded if he sent his ruffians to search his house. Robinson denied knowing anything of it, and quite an excitement prevailed. A number of such low bread, vulgar rowdyisms occurred.

Two young men, printers, built a house on a vacant claim, and one day while sitting in their cabin cooking, the top of the house began to open, and in a few minutes not a log or stick of a house surrounded them. At a distance on the claim, a new house grew up like Jonah's gourd.

In justice to the yankees we must here say, for valor and bravery, they have given sufficient proof, and that they would have fought on the day fixed for the contest had there been sufficient reason to do so, there is no doubt. The Missourians had boasted much of driving them from the country, and the settlers around the yankee settlement had entertained high anticipations of assistance from the boasted valor of the Missourians. Those who were sent on the embassy of rallying the help for the 14th of October, related frightful stories of the yankee weapons, and the battle that was near being fought. They exaggerated their story no doubt, for the object of exciting their military enthusi-

ism; but on cool reflection it proved a *dampener* upon the *spirits* of the *ally*. On the day fixed for the final battle, which was to decide the fate of yankeedom in Kansas, not a Missourian made his appearance except the settlers, and many of them did not appear, and they deserved to be named for their vaunting, boasting manifestations. Like Fallstaff, they detained from this deadly conflict with a view to fight at the ballot box, and not at the bayonet. One man from near Lawrence City, went to Missouri for help; after several days trial raised no help or succor, and returned much disgusted, declaring he would attend to his own business.

There were strong prejudices existing against the Missourians, by another class of settlers in Kansas, who were also opposed to abolitionism; they were numerous and were generally from Illinois, Ohio and Indiana.

The cause of this inveterate hatred in their breasts, was that many of them reached the Kansas line before the treaty was ratified, and by persuasion and threats against their entering the Indian country; they were compelled to remain in the neighbourhood of Westport and other villages; inquisitorial committees had been organized along on the frontier, whose business it was to enquire into the political proclivities of these emigrants. The State from which they came was made the criterion, and without a trial or farther enquiry many of them were told that they were required to remove back and leave the town in so many hours. Some were compelled to comply with this demand or suffer lynch law, with the destruction of their property, and the distress of a helpless family. Some were subjected to these trying scenes of the inquisitorial tribunals, and were compelled to decamp, who were as indifferent to anti-slavery or pro-slavery, as they were to a shooting star.

This imprudence of the Missourians in attempting to strengthen their slavery institutions, lost them both influence and strength, and created them enemies that never will be reconciled until they can be revenged.

CHAPTER XVII.

Remarks—Arrival of Governor Reeder—Great Pageantry—Fight by Squatters—Governor adjudicating a Criminal cause—Authority—Leavenworth City sale—Westport, Mo.—Company proceeds to Kansas—Train—Procession—Town of Franklin—Exhilarating influence—Arrival at Lawrence City—Coalition reception—Douglas City—Speculation—Proclamation—Election districts.

To give the reader some idea of the sensation which the arrival of the first appointed governor of a territory produces in this country, we give in this chapter somewhat in detail the first movement of Governor Reeder, and the parade and pageantry attending them.

Whether an appointee to office, whom the citizens of Kansas had no more to do with the making of, than the President of Hayti; appreciates such adulation and covets the notoriety, must be left to conjecture.

About the 6th of October, Governor Reeder with other officers of the territory, arrived at Fort Leavenworth, and was received with great pomp and pageantry. Some deposed monarch returning to his kingdom, could not have been received with more enthusiasm and demonstrations of joy. Even President Pierce would have envied the adulation shown to one of his own creatures. Due notice had been sent of the time, and formal preparations made for his reception, by the appointment of a Dr. Lub, to deliver the reception address; the great honor of which the renowned doctor speaks of with much eclat. The Governor arrived just in time for the great sale of lots at Leavenworth City.

Immediately after the Governor's arrival at the fort, a squatter fight took place with deadly weapons, for a claim of land. Rifles,

revolvers and dirks were freely used to a serious result. His excellency issued his warrant and brought the beligerants before him; sat upon the trial as a committing justice of a criminal court; convicted the defendant, and admitted him to bail on a twenty thousand dollar bond. This proceeding was certainly anomalous and strange. Whether the governor is a lawyer or not, the writer is not informed. Whether the organic law of the territory gave such jurisdiction to the executive or not, it is not necessary to enquire, for it would be unconstitutional and contrary to common law and reason. The governor of a territory is as far from having such jurisdiction as the legislature. Why the supreme judges did not sit as committing magistrates in that memorable case, is easily conjectured; for unless the offence had been committed against the United States, they had no jurisdiction, there being no law in Kansas at that time making culpable local offences in the territory; but that was what the officers were sent there for, viz: to organize the territory by legislative enactments. The immediate duty of a governor of a territory is apparent from common reason and common sense, without reference to the organic law. Surely "popular sovereignty" was most grievously represented in the organic law, if the governor was executive, legislative and judiciary.

That Governor Reeder has made a very great mistake in the organization of Kansas territory, there is no doubt, and this mistake cannot be remedied until it is eradicated by the action of the people in process of time.

The people are sadly disappointed in the powers of a governor, and with a good reason, as the general impression through the country was that the governor had only to *nod* and his mandates for weal or woe were obeyed. A sycophantic adulation was paid him, which misled both governor and subjects. The prevailing idea of his immediate patronage sent him scores of courtiers. His immediate engagement in land speculation and neglecting the more important duties of public affairs, opened the eyes of his devotees, and he finally stood before them in his true character.

The governor, while at Westport, Mo., was quite a lion; he carried with him what the people called his *suite*—a secretary and *attachees* of his department. Before leaving the fort a deputation from Lawrence had waited upon him to invite him to make a formal visit to that city—the speculators of that city had expressed a determination to buy the right of the capitol.

About the 24th of October, the governor made preparations to make a formal visit to the Yankee City. On the day appointed, the governor, his suite, attachees, public officers of the territory, and a numerous train of carriages, horsemen, and attendants, left Westport, Mo., where all was excitement and congratulation, for the territory of Kansas, for the purpose, *as said*, of canvassing the territory preparatory to its organization. With what sincerity this profession was made, subsequent movements will show. The Missourians having his confidence, were in fine cheer; seemingly nothing dampened by the intended visit, reception and good cheer at the abolition city of Lawrence. When they left Westport, it is said the train exceeded a mile, having much the appearance of a funeral procession.

As the long train of black carriages and horsemen issued from the dense copse of brush and timber along the Wakarusa river, and become extended in full view of the town of Franklin, and the cabins around the country, their elevation afforded them a commanding appearance for many miles around. Arriving at the village, the cavalcade made a short halt. The women and children came running from the neighboring cabins, enquiring with breathless anxiety, "Is that the Governor and his men?"—All who accompanied the Governor had a peculiar consequence attached to his person, and always afterwards when seen in the country, was recognized and reported as "that's one of the Governor's men," and he was supposed to know something of the business of the Governor, and was questioned accordingly.

It was supposed that the consequence of being attached to the retinue of a Nebraska Governor had such an exhilarating influence on the *mind*, that symptoms of intoxication would frequently ap-

pear, which caused some of the old-fashioned, unsophisticated inhabitants of Franklin, who were not initiated in the principles of electro-psychology, to say imprudently, they "really thought some of the Governor's men were drunk," or "had been drinking." A knowing old lady near Franklin, a second Mrs. Partington, said they were "the smartest men she ever saw, and she knew something about men in her days," she said "they could lean over and all about on a horse without falling off."

On the arrival of the cavalcade at Lawrence city, during the preparations for exhibition, the company took occasion to stroll over the city, which consisted of one cabin, called the "*old fort*" from the fact of the Yankees having used it as a retreat and defense in the *squatter war*, two long hay-rick tents, and a dozen camp tents.

From the pledge made in the east, of city lots to each emigrant, it became necessary to obtain a large plot of ground. Sixty lots had been pledged to each one of the Association. This was the great inducement for emigration; hundreds depended on nothing else but the resources of the town property, and by this tenure they were held together, for the operation of their leaders and designing agents. Now if their number of votes could procure the seat of government, so much better for themselves.—Pomroy had his speech made to order a week previous to the arrival of the governor, and read the manuscript to some outsiders.

To read the *grand reception* of governor Reeder, one would suppose the visit to be entirely accidental; that as his Excellency was traveling through on important business of the territory, he casually stopped at Lawrence. The reader would not suppose for a moment that it was a deep laid scheme or design of two parties in politics, antipodes to each other, and each acting for a private scheme of underground speculation. The Governor having the fancied vision of sections of land floating before his eyes, as he walked to the platform, could not help enquiring "how far to the *half breed Kansas Indians*?"

For the consummation of the future plans of the two aspirants,

it was necessary his Excellency should have a delegate in Congress, viz., the man he had with him if he could get the votes. It was publicly urged by the private secretary while at Lawrence, that the Governor had the permanent locating of the seat of Government, and the expending of eight thousand dollars on the Capitol. This had been the bait for Pomroy. The politics of each was to be moulded into a proper shape and swallowed by the other. Flenkin, a "Nebraska Democrat," was to remain neutral and *mum* on politics, and so he did until the day of election, never having uttered a sentiment in public on any topic whatever, except to the Yankees, in their private association after night. He never met the other candidates on the stump. The high sounding title of "*Minister Plenipotentiary to Denmark*, and a wealthy lawyer of Pennsylvania," which was flourished in the papers on his arrival, was to be his passport, with the official aid of the Governor.

After the party left Lawrence City, they proceeded to one of quite a different scene, where the governor readily atoned for the little abolitionism he had swallowed, by purchasing a share in the town of Douglas. Such devotion at the shrine of slavery would certainly silence the voice of old fogysim. He designated Douglas city as a place to open the polls for the election, which consideration Lawrence city had also received. Kansas river being made the northern line of the election districts, neither Lawrence nor Douglas city were the proper places for holding the election, as the district extended thirty miles south. Although he took a share in Douglas city at two hundred and fifty dollars, yet he no doubt would as soon think of building a city on a crocodiles back; but this tribute to slavery was a small sum for the gratitude due for his office, and that devotion was necessary for the troublesome abolition dinner, which might otherwise have caused suspicion that he was favorable to freedom. It was boasted of by some of the company on their return to Missouri how adroitly the governor had answered the speech of Pomroy the abolition agent, when he said "We believe you

to be like ourselves, in favor of *free institutions*." The governor answered emphatically that he was "in favor of *free schools*."

From Douglas the governor and his friends pursued their course to the Potawatamie payment. The same day the party arrived His Excellency purchased one section of Kansas half-breed land, and next day pursued his journey to the Kansas tribe of Indians at Council Grove; seeking out the half-breeds who had assembled there preparatory to their payment, he purchased some five or six more sections, but the wife and the husbands not being there together the execution of the deeds were deferred, to meet them on the land at Pappan Ferry, where he repaired in a few days, and finished the contract.

During this time the Indian payments were all progressing, there being about two million dollars to be paid out to the Indians of Kansas territory this year.

About the tenth of November, the Governor returned to Fort Leavenworth and immediately proceeded to issue his proclamation for the election of delegate to Congress. No steps had been taken to ascertain the number of inhabitants or the number of legal voters, and without any proclamation of organization, His Excellency proceeded at once to order an election for delegate to Congress, and appointed the several places for holding the election. As the districts must be changed in so short a time, it will be of but little interest to give them here.

In regard to the districts as designated in the proclamation, considering the source from which the Governor had to get or did get his information of the country, probably they were as good as could have been expected. Some did not contain five votes in the district, as that at Marysville, the eleventh district.

The twelfth comprises the people of the Nimehaw, on the north line of the territory. The plan of election on the Kansas river, eighty miles distant from the voters. The people of Nimchaw had no election. So with several of the districts, the places of holding the election being in one corner or on the line of the district, and the inhabitants immediately across the line. being in

another district, while the place of election was probably fifty miles distant. Nothing short of taking the census and changing the districts, can possibly satisfy the inhabitants at another election. If the Governor had asked some old pioneer farmer how to prevent spurious votes, he could have told His Excellency to first take the census, and send a copy of a register of every legal voter to the polls. After the voting was over, a comparison of register and polls would detect the fraud.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Remarks—Proclamation—Reported Coalition—New Candidates—Call for a Mass Meeting—Convention not Organized—Result.

IT WOULD require more space than this limited work will admit of to give a detailed account of the different phases and manoeuvres of the wireworkers in the election for Delegate; that the Governor came there fully prepared, as he supposed, with his instruments to carry the territory by the patronage of his office, there is not the least doubt. His first intrigue was with the abolition *faction*, but by certain political distinguishment, paid court to every slaveholder in the territory; the appointment of the judges of the elections shows it. Flenekin, who accompanied him from Pennsylvania, also accompanied him over the territory. On his arrival, Flenekin was announced as being an extraordinary man, but not a word of his being a candidate until a few days before the election. On the arrival of Reeder and Flenekin, there were but two prominent candidates in the territory; Wakefield, an abolitionist and the acknowledged candidate of the Yankees at Lawrence city, and Chapman, a democrat from Indiana, who, although in favor of a free state, sustained the institution where the law and the constitution fixed it. Mr. Chapman was strongly opposed to abolitionism, and was supported in his pretensions as a candidate, by the pro-slavery men and the free soilers. On the issuing of the proclamation, Gen. Joseph Whitfield had not been heard of in the territory, he being an Indian agent at Fort Laramie; nor had Flenekin, the governor's *pet*, been thought of. When Flenekin was announced, the governor's intrigue for a thou-

sand yankee votes ran over the country like wild fire, the charge was publicly made in print, and certain facts proved it to be true, only the part of getting the thousand votes failed.

The co-alition with the yankees raised a desperate excitement among the pro-slavery men. The governor's influence was supposed to be so great that he could elect almost who he pleased, hence the report of the thousand votes was a perfect earthquake; the pro-slavery men thought their defeat almost certain. Gen. Whitfield having been an old resident of the territory, was sought out as the most efficient candidate to meet the emergency and beat the governor's man, and Chapinan, from the necessity of the occasion, had to decline. It was a desperate game they had to play as they supposed. It was supposed the thousand yankees could be made forthcoming, and some manœuvering was resorted to, to keep Wakefield on the track, so as to divide the abolition votes; but all these desperate measures that the pro-slavery men resorted to, to defeat the governor's *pet*, proved to be unnecessary. That the pro-slavery men and free soilers could have elected either Whitfield or Chapinan, without a single Missourian crossing the line to give a vote, is certain.

Much has been said about the unjust election of Gen. Whitfield, and while there is no excuse or justification of the foreign voting, yet it proved a just rebuke to those petty territorial appointees, who go there with their official influence to speculate upon the people; every principle of business was to be monopolized by a gormandizing governor, and the people ought to thank heaven for averting so great a calamity as the election of Flenekin.

A few days before the election a mass-meeting was called at Leavenworth City, to nominate a candidate for delegate. Of course at that late period it was impossible for a notice to go over the territory; the hand bills were sent out on Monday, and the meeting was to take place on Wednesday. It never was intended to go farther than the neighbourhood of Leavenworth Fort and town, and evidently intended as a gull upon the people.

While the numerous voters in the territory are busily engaged

in their rural pursuits: providing comforts for a family of helpless children, a few speculating and intriguing officers and other idle speculators and petifogers, are concocting some plan to hoodwink the unsuspecting farmer, and with a political corral, as they drive wild cattle on board a ship or hogs on the cars, they would force him into their measures. Finally half a dozen intriguers, as at Leavenworth, by making a big show as the mass-convention, would control the hundreds that knew nothing about it; but in this case they were caught in their own trap.

Where the call for a mass-meeting originated has never been ascertained, nor did it serve the purpose intended. It was very clandestinely gotten up, notice and all having only two days existence, and finally produced two candidates instead of one. Each party denied knowing anything of the call for the convention, and there being no person to father the *call*, the convention was not organized, but Whitfield mounted the rostrum and made a speech; Flenckin, although at the time announced in the papers as a candidate, refused to make a public speech.

The writer was not present at this convention, but it is said about five hundred Missourians were in attendance. This assemblage might have been indicative of what followed, yet no one appeared to anticipate the perfect organization that had been made east of Missouri.

The sale of lots of two or three pro-slavery towns had been fixed on one week previous to the election. The number of Missourians that attended showed the organization to be complete, and at these sales of town lots a great influence was obtained over the common people.*

The Governor's influence was feared very much, for with the Proclamation, was sent Public Messengers with the tickets of

*At the sale of lots of Douglas City, Mr. Chapman was requested to pronounce a eulogy on the patron of the town, Gen. Whitfield said it was a pretty eulogy, but it sounded like an obituary and that Mr. Douglas was not dead. Chapman said he asked pardon then, and would take it back.

Flenekin, and imposing handbills setting forth who he was, were distributed all over the country. No official influence was spared. And had it not have been for these desperate measures of the office holders, and Nebraska office holders too, to impose a man on the people whom they knew nothing about until just on the eve of the election. There is very little probability, the Missourians would have crossed the river in half the numbers they did to vote.

It is true, that is no justification for the illegal voting; but, where the highest functionary of the country will step aside for speculative purposes, they may expect others will use the same unjust weapons.

It will be observed that Whitfield received two thousand four hundred and fifty votes. Wakefield, two hundred and sixty.—Flenekin, three hundred, leaving Whitfield two thousand one hundred and fifty votes over the highest. When we received the polls, one or two districts had not arrived, which would make no material difference; we know that the District composing Wolf and Independence creeks, had pro-slavery votes to the amount of four hundred. If the polls had been accessible to the people the vote from Missouri was unnecessary for the election of a pro-slavery man

CHAPTER XIX.

Election—Missourians coming into the Territory—Comical Characters—Day of Election—Strange Men—Horses—Carriages—Revolvers—Force—Swearing—Spurious Votes—Contested Election—Governor's Proclamation—Comparison of Candidates.

As we have undertaken to record facts in this short history, so far as we know them and have room from the size of the work, we shall do so in this last drama of Kansas.

A day or two before the 29th of November, it was apparent that numerous strange individuals were floating over the country. From the number met on Sunday and Monday previous to the election, it was evident they were not land hunters; their garb and equipage did not indicate it. On being questioned about their destination and business, and the enquiry made, "if while there would they not vote?" "O, certainly," would be the reply. However great the corruption and fraud in this memorable election, yet much credit is due slave holders, or pro-slavery men, for carrying out their diabolical and nefarious purposes, crime and circumvention, with so admirable an arrangement. We must give them credit also for the publicity of their movements and for their public avowal to consummate the act of fraud openly and above board, in the face of heaven and the light of day, and in the teeth of their opponents, which appears less objectionable than the secret intriguing plots of governmental officers for mere purposes of private speculation. It was a move of impulse and daring determination. It was no fraud or corruption, after all, for there was no pretence of right held out; if it was necessary to swear, they swore; and if necessary to swear to one thing, they did so, and if to swear contradictory, they did that. For daring, ntrepidity and recklessness, it has no parallel.* It was not only

imposing illegal votes on the election, but with the single purpose of accomplishing their object, would arrest, demolish and reject a legal vote with the same confidence and assurance you would displace the titular dignitaries of a chess-board.

Their forces were equally disposed all over the country without a jar or conflict about their destination for this their unhallowed purpose. At Fort Leavenworth, where the military ought to have interfered to protect the sanctity of the ballot-box, they were with impunity the most obtrusive and reckless. With such a spirit of daring and determination to effect their purpose, how could it be expected that the quiet and peaceable free soiler, who had no interest one way or the other, (except for *conscience sake*,) would brave insults and endure contemptuous frowns merely to deposite a vote that would affect him but little, even had he the peaceable liberty to do it? We saw a number of free soil voters leave the territory to keep out of the way that day. It was not so much at the time of depositing the vote as the after revenge he would have to endure, which he most feared.

On the day of the election the most comical characters appeared, winding their way to the polls. Old shabby, decrepid looking men, from the oppositible of the Missouri, some on large heavy saddles, such as they never had probably rode on before, with their feet in the leathers of the stirrups, some riding in carriages that looked quite unfitting to their appearance otherwise, and seeming to feel little at ease; others again in the most exquisite apparel of dandy order, as little fitting the territory of Kansas, as a monkey would a barbershop. At some of the polls they were peaceable, quiet and orderly; at these places they had no opposition—at others, again, revolvers, dirks, and deadly weapons, were significantly displayed, and the judges threatened. At some of the polls, the inhabitants and the foreigners all voted the same way, and there was no disturbance or excitement. At one poll a man was shot and wounded, and another killed, and probably these were the only instances of injury that resulted from violence—at some places persons residing near the polls

were denied a vote for resident-ship, while at another a resident in Illinois would be allowed his vote, and some votes deposited never came forth, others being substituted in their stead. It would be impossible to enumerate the digressions from the usual order and courtesy, Indian and half breed were no exceptions.

Now let it be understood that the Governor in appointing these judges of the election, never consulted a free soil friend, or candidate, good or bad, except at Lawrence city, and there the judges were ultra anti-slavery. At every poll ultra pro-slavery men were appointed judges, except at Lawrence and Leavenworth cities, and even there they were as helpless as children, and might just as well have been of the other party. These relations are not made as a charge against any party; what the pro-slavery men did, they avowed their determination to do, openly and above board, and of course they do not deny these facts; but the object is here that the reader may know what has been done and what can be done. These pro-slavery voters were not confined to Missourians, there were more from Illinois and Indiana, who, when at home, were as strong free state men as any others; but in Kansas showed the most zealous pro-slavery propensities, by deeds and words; they fell in with what they supposed to be the *strong party*, and were all the more zealous in the cause of slavery, to prove their devotion, and be good fellows, well met, with their unsuspected neighbors. No State was excepted from this apostasy in some of its representatives, and Missourians footed the expense.

This moment it would be a thousand times better for Kansas had Congress declared it slave territory. The ordeal is too severe for the present burthen of the poor settler who has gone there destitute of comforts for the sake of getting land, and can scarcely obtain the necessaries of life to keep soul and body together, without having to quarrel with every rich man and neighbor he may by chance or necessity meet. It is out of the nature of things that a poor, dependant man, who is not able to buy a foot of land, should set up an opinion for himself, against the interest

of his powerful neighbor, which would do him no pecuniary good, and to accord with his neighbor's opinions will do him no harm. Such sacrifices are not made, either in Congress or out of Congress, among high or low.

And indeed it is very unwise to attach any blame to a slaveholder for wanting to maintain his institutions he is as justified in endeavoring to sustain his interest in slaves, as the speculator is in building up a city. The slaveholder is by far the most agreeable and accommodating neighbor; he has no ambition but the privilege of holding his slaves; he is in no competition for other enterprises, while the Abolitionist is cold, calculating and selfish. If any forced construction of law will allow him to take the settler's quarter sections of land, and appropriate it for his own speculation, he will do it. Hence the Free State party will unite with the slaveholding party before they will unite with the Abolitionists. We question whether Kansas is worth the sacrifice that will be required to make it a free State. It now has a large majority that would vote for a free State, if untrammelled and had the countenance of social, hospitable neighbors of the same opinions. The slaveholder is naturally kind and hospitable, and they can by that weapon alone gain more in Kansas territory than by any other force.

If you will let the Abolitionists have all the cities, towns and cross-roads, and the glory thereof, and aspire to no office unless they caucus you out, then they are kind to trade with you, can they but make a good bargain.

We must record the truth, and we must say that we have known as much and more austere violence and domineering tyranny by the abolition factions, than was enacted by the pro-slavery men at the election. We do not justify the spurious voting, nor violence in any shape. But there are several instances of overbearing and insolent conduct, the details of which would not bear to be given in this narrative.

Each of the two great ultra parties were highly intolerant;—neither had the prudence to gain strength or maintain confidence.

But the pro-slavery and abolition were the only two organized parties in the territory. The pro-slavery men sought out all the supposed valuable locations for towns, settled on them, and immediately laid them out. The proprietor of Tecumseh refused to let a printing press go there because it would not advocate slavery, nor was an anti-slavery man allowed to purchase lots in one of these towns. That some of these towns will prove a sham, there is but little doubt.

The business of the writer is only to relate facts. If anything makes Kansas territory a slave State, it will be the tyrannical spirit of abolition leaders. Their ambition for fame, and thirst for wealth and gain, will cause them to cater to any man's influence whose bribe is sufficient to satiate their gormandizing appetite for wealth. As the implication of Pomroy, the agent, and Governor Reeder forming a coalition, two persons as opposite in politics as the polar stars, bears witness.

All disappointed parties will unite against the successful party. There is a kind of mutual sympathy enlisted, and a grudge, revenge and envy that follows defeat; that seeks means of gratification. This will cause a complaint by both free-soilers and abolitionists, in many instances, and the open violation of the sanctity of the polls will cause them to unite against the pro-slavery party. The writer having no preference for either party has endeavored to give as candid a statement, in a brief manner, of both parties, as this narrative will admit. The American party may yet decide the fate of Kansas.

The Governor had, in his proclamation, fixed his own principles of disputing the election, as may be observed in the following extract, which failed of every requisite to meet the exigency of the case. The certainty the Governor had of Flenneken's success, threw him off his guard.

The party contesting the election was to appear on the fifth day after the election, with his specifications sworn to. Two or three polls were contested, on the day specified, but it was astonishing to see how futile the attempt. The Governor, although

legislating the conditions of contest, was wholly powerless under his own provisions, to help the contestants. A *caveat* would have had to have been entered against every district, to have authorized the Governor to detain the certificate. A sufficient number of polls would have had to be *caveated* to reduce Whitfield's vote below a majority, and every poll gave him enough to elect him over the other candidates, and in some of the districts where the most spurious votes had been given, ten men could not have been found to sign the petition as required by the Governor. His Excellency was caught in his own net.

Wakefield and Flenneken both appeared before the Governor to contest the polls. Flenneken discovered the mistake, but Wakefield supposed that if one poll was found corrupt, it would invalidate the election.

The annexed extract from the Governor's proclamation will exhibit the truth of the above statements:

INSTRUCTIONS TO JUDGES OF ELECTIONS.

The three Judges will provide for each poll a ballot-box, with a slit for the insertion of the ticket. Before entering upon their duties they will make and subscribe duplicate copies of the following oath:

We ———, ——— and ———, do severally swear that we will perform our duties as Judges of the election to be held this day in the ——— District, of the territory of Kansas, to the best of our judgment and ability; that we will keep a correct and faithful record or list of persons who shall vote at said election, that we will poll no ticket for any person who is not an actual bona fide resident and inhabitant of said Territory on the day of election, and whom we shall not honestly believe to be a qualified voter according to the provisions of the act of Congress organizing said Territory—that we will reject the votes of all and every non-resident who we shall believe has come into the Territory for the mere purpose of voting—that in all cases where we are ignorant of the voter's right, we will require legal evidence thereof by his own vote or otherwise—and that we will make a true and faithful return to the Governor of said Territory of the votes which shall be polled.

The poll will be opened for the reception of votes between eight and ten o'clock, A. M., and will be kept open continually until six, P. M., and then closed unless voters are at the polls offering to vote, and in that case, as soon as votes cease to be constantly offered. The judge will keep two corresponding lists of persons who shall vote, numbering each man.

When a dispute arises as to the qualifications of a voter, the judges may examine the voter or any other person under oath upon the subject, and the decision of a majority of the board will be conclusive. When the poll is closed the judges will proceed to open and count the votes and will keep two corresponding tally lists, on which they will simultaneously tally the votes as they are given by the judges who shall open and call out the tickets, and without interference or handling by any other person. When the votes are thus counted off, and the tally lists shall agree, the judges shall then publicly proclaim the result and shall draw up and sign duplicate certificates, in the following form:

We the undersigned judges of an election, held on the 20th day of November, A. D., 1854, at the house of——— in the —— district of the territory of Kansas, for the election of a delegate to the house of representatives of the United States, do certify upon oath, to the best of our knowledge and belief, that the following is a true and correct return of the votes polled by lawful resident voters, viz:—

——— received ———— votes, &c.
 ———— received ———— votes,

Witness our hands, this 29th day of November, 1854.

They will then carefully replace the said counted tickets in the box, with one copy of the oath—one list of voters—one tally list and one certificate of return, and having sealed up the said box will carefully preserve the same, until called for by the governor, in case the election shall be contested. The remaining copies of oath—list of voters—tally list and return, will be taken by one of the judges, who will deliver the same in person to the governor, on or before Monday, the 5th day of December next, at his office at the house of Thomas Johnson in the first district.

The judges of election will be sworn by a judge or justice of the peace, or in the absence of such officer, they may be sworn by one of their number, who shall in his turn be sworn by one of those thus qualified, noting at the foot of the oath by whom it is administered. And the several judges of election are by these presents invested with full power and authority to administer the oath to each other, and to voters and others, touching the right

of any person to vote, under all the pains and penalties of perjury attaching to oaths administered by judicial officers.

If one or more of the judges appointed should fail to attend or refuse to serve, their places may be supplied by the voters on the ground at nine o'clock A. M., and vacancies occurring in the board thereafter, may be filled by the remaining judges.

QUALIFICATION OF VOTERS.

By the territorial bill it is provided as follows:—

“That every free white male inhabitant above the age of twenty-one years, who shall be an actual resident of said territory, and shall possess the qualifications hereinafter prescribed, shall be entitled to vote at the first election: *Provided*, That the right of suffrage and of holding office, shall be exercised only by citizens of the United States and those who shall have declared on oath their intention to become such, and shall have taken an oath to support the constitution of the United States, and the provisions of this act: *And, Provided further*, That no officer, soldier, seaman or marine, or other person in the army or navy of the United States, or attached to troops in the service of the United States, shall be allowed to vote or hold office in said territory, by reason of being on service therein.”

The requisites of age and color are easily understood. That of residence is well defined in the law, and means the actual dwelling or inhabiting in the territory, to the exclusion of any other present domicile or home coupled with the present bona fide intention of permanently remaining for the same purpose.

When a voter is not a native of the United States, the proof of his right to vote must be the production of his certificate of naturalization; or of his declaration of intention under the seal of the court, and the want of it cannot be supplied by his oath.

In case he has only declared his intention to become a citizen, he must then be sworn, by the judges or a justice of the peace, to support the constitution of the United States and the provisions of the “Act of Congress approved May 30, 1854, to organize the territories of Nebraska and Kansas.” When this latter oath is administered to a voter, the word “oath” should be marked opposite his name on the list.

The meaning of the last proviso, relative to the army and navy is, that the persons designated in it, shall not vote if their presence in the territory is referrible only to the performance of their duties and the obedience it orders. The officer or soldier

who would vote must have a residence here (the meaning of which is already explained) irrespective and independent of his presence here under orders.

It is perhaps unnecessary to say that every voter can vote only in his own district.

CONTESTED ELECTION.

In case any person or persons shall dispute the fairness or correctness of the return of any election district, they shall make a written statement directed to the Governor and setting forth the specific causes of complaint, or errors in the conducting or returning of the election in said district, signed by not less than ten qualified voters of the territory and with an affidavit of one or more qualified voters to the truth of the facts therein stated; and the said complaint and affidavit shall be presented to the Governor on or before the fourth day of December next, when the proper proceedings will be taken to hear and decide such complaint.

A. H. REEDER, GOVERNOR, &c.

APPENDIX.

THE PROSPECTS OF KANSAS FOR FREEDOM OR SLAVERY.

Should the question of its institutions be decided at this time, there is little doubt in our mind but that the territory would pronounce for slavery, but the mysteries which belong to the future no man can determine; so much depends upon the amount of emigration, and the quarter from whence it comes, that we think no individual could venture a positive assertion.

As we have stated previously in this work, a great portion of the emigrants go there poor, their object is to procure a home, and live in peace with their neighbors; no difference what the prejudices may be that surrounds them, with it they accord. This is no want of independence, as is imputed by some, many are wholly indifferent as to the "peculiar institution," and having no interest one way or the other which ever atmosphere happens

to surround him, that he breathes. The pro-slavery man is on the alert to sustain his cause for pecuniary interest, this class is numerous, and exert a great influence over the lukewarm and indifferent.

We think the tendency is now to slavery, by some majority, yet no man can do more than speculate on the future; a great change may take place in the year, and originate from a very small circumstance. Our own opinion is, that it will be a more difficult matter for pro-slavery men to keep it slavery hereafter, than to make it slavery now; one thing is certain, if the public domain is never sold at public auction, but only allowed to be pre-empted by the actual settler, the territory never can remain a slave territory. What the policy of the government may be on that subject, we do not pretend to know. If the land is never put up to the highest bidder, we think the fate of Kansas is as fixed as adamant, and whether she goes slavery now or not, is, as regards her future destiny, immaterial.

We do not give the above from any personal preference, our own individual preference we avoid throwing into the scale of opinion deduced from certain causes. We think there is no doubt but slavery can be established now, but were we a slaveholder and knew that the policy of the General Government was to let the land go to actual settlers only by pre-emption, we should make no calculation on keeping our slaves in Kansas. There is a certain principle that pervades the human breast which is safe to base this calculation upon.

Since writing the above, we have learned that by act of Congress a new treaty is to be made with the Delaware Indians, in which the government is to pay them a stipulated price for the *trust lands* instead of putting it up to the highest bidder, by which the settler will have his pre-emption.

This is the strongest movement for the security of freedom in Kansas yet made. The *Tribune* condemns the act of relieving the trespassing officers at Leavenworth, but in all beneficial and praiseworthy provisions some undeserving persons must be bene-

fitted in the general provisions. Not a foot of land ought to be sold except to a bona fide resident, and no man ought to be allowed to purchase more than a quarter section. With such provisions the poor man will stand an equal chance with the rich; there is now every inducement for the poor emigrant to locate on the north side of the Kansas river; let him come to Whitfield City, and we will show him some of the finest claims in the world, but he must come quick or he will lose a chance.

POLITICS.

The old line politics have no interest in Kansas. There is now there three parties, viz: Abolition, Free State and Pro-slavery. The abolition party go for universal emancipation and equality of the African race; the Free State party is for leaving the slaves where the Constitution found them, and a government free of foreign officers and of slavery; the pro-slavery party are too well defined in principle to require any comment, they look upon every man as an enemy who will not vote for slavery; they condemn a free state man and consign him to the same category with abolitionists; and in turn, the abolitionist has as little sympathy for the freesoiler. The freesoil party is the most numerous in the territory, but not one half of them have either the freedom or the independence to vote according to their convictions.

The political principles of the Free State party is not in opposition to the slaveholder; the freesoiler is willing the slaveholder should enjoy his institutions where he legally holds his slaves and the laws tolerate it; there he wishes the slaveholder to remain unmolested. The freesoiler maintains that he has as much right to have a free state as the slaveholder to have a slave state, and inasmuch as slave power is an infringement upon the rights of free men, and, as a consequence, a territory untrammelled by slave force ought to remain sacred to a free man. A freeman in a slave state without slaves, is as a mere Russian serf; it is an indignity even to offer to carry slaves where a portion of the community are freemen. What is more astonishing to the free-

soiler is, that the slaveholder who is a large landholder in Missouri should choose to leave his land uncultivated and emigrate on squatter land, thus disfranchising the poor man.

This is the only political question at this time in Kansas, and from which spring three distinct parties. The "Know Nothings" are there, but in which of the parties they exist is not known; their creed will not allow them to unite with the fanatic abolitionist nor with the slavery propagandist; but abolitionists may unite with the Know Nothings, and should the American cause once raise its standard in Kansas, a new era will commence there. That they are the most powerful party in the United States at this time no one pretends to deny, and the destiny of Kansas may depend upon the policy which that extraordinary fraternity may pursue in the establishment of her institutions; we only give the sentiments as we heard them expressed in the country, they did not originate with us.

In conclusion of this brief and hasty production, to the lovers of romance and antiquities, we have but a word to say: There is no inspiration to invoke the muses in Kansas territory; no monuments or relics of antiquity on which to base the legends of departed spirits, and the heroic exploits of chivalric ages.—Like the expanse of the dark blue waves of the ocean, there is nothing to relieve the aching void of vision, but the waving prairie and the canopy of heaven. No traces are left of the Indian battle field, or the daring encounters of the hordes of buffaloes that roamed the dreary plains; none are left to recount the noble deeds of the Indian maiden and the love stricken swain. But a small remnant of the aborigines—the once proud owners of the soil—remain in the Kansas tribe of Indians. The other tribes are all emigrants, and of course know nothing of the valor and prowess of the young warrior in the chase and in the strife of battle. This small remnant whose name is perpetuated by the name of the territory and the rivers, have not been consulted by their intruders, and no interest is felt for their history. Avarice covets only their former and present domain in the half breed Kansas

land, but their origin and renown as a nation have no interest to the land speculator.

Posterity, when roaming over the vast plains, will enquire the origin of the name of "Kansas." A few more years and there will be no one to answer. Such is the mutation of human life, whether savage or civilized, from the lowest order of the vegetable kingdom to the highest state. No romantic outlines of nature in Kansas, nor the artificial novelties of former ages to attract the romantic antiquarian. Where the red warrior fell in his deadly strife, no marble monument perpetuates his valor or his patriotism; although as devoted to his country and to his nation as a Washington or a Wellington, the God of Nature left no rude granite to commemorate the events; the green sward covers his ashes and his glory.

The elevations and mounds, although picturesque and romantic, are primitive, and not artificial as some writers imagine; they retain their elevation amidst the washing away of hills by either being marl or having a substratum of rock. We see some fallacious stories related by "journalists through Kansas," of Indian legends; it is true, the writer of a "Journey through Kansas" fixes no location for the fable he has related of "Young Eagle and Wolf," only in Kansas. The emigrant might search a year and then not find a place suitable for such an occurrence; both are fictitious, located some years since in the rocky mountains. We can see no benefit which would result to the emigrant by filling up our history with scraps of superannuated novels, but promise so soon as a reliable history of the prairies can be obtained from their former owners to lay it before the public in the next volume of this work.

SCHOOLS.

A Manual Labor College is about being established at Whitfield city, under the patronage of donations from the town. The peculiar features of the college is its manual labor department

and the adoption of a more practical basis in the course of study to be pursued. Its projectors design to make it an embodiment of modern innovations and improvements, both in the teaching and branches taught, the details of which are not sufficiently matured to be given to the public. The school will be open to the Indian as well as the white man; neither race or sex will be debarred from its advantages. Its location is in the immediate neighborhood of several tribes of Indians, and it is hoped will enlist many of them to avail themselves of its advantages for education, and influence others by example to adopt more or less of civilized habits of life. The plan of the school being as yet unsettled, this notice is merely to call the attention of the philanthropist and patrons of education in the east to extend to it some of their material aid when called upon, as such an enterprise must do much good in Kansas.

A college is also contemplated at Lawrence City, on what principle we received no definite information.

Two printing presses are now established there, and also one preparing for Whitfield City.

INDIAN HOSTILITIES.

The writer is aware that many individuals are apprehensive of the hostilities of the Indians, and some families hesitate to emigrate to Kansas on that account.

We think all apprehensions of danger arise entirely from a want of knowledge of the Indian relations in Kansas. There are numerous Indian tribes in Kansas territory, it is true, and an Indian is an Indian; and it is known that depredations are committed on the frontier by Indians, but a moment's reflection ought to convince every one that these depredations are not committed by the emigrant Indians of Kansas. It is the wild Indians in the mountains who occasionally make an assault upon travelers, and probably not without occasion. The Indian tribes in Kansas are more fearful of the mountain Indians than

the white people, and a white man is safer from injury and harm among the Indians in Kansas than he would be in any city in the United States. There is not half the danger of being robbed or murdered at any hour of the twenty-four, among any tribe of Indians in Kansas, that there is in New York City. Nine times out of ten, the offences which are committed are provoked, but not, probably by those on whom revenge is taken.

RAIL ROADS.

Kansas must soon feel a deep interest in the rail road projected by John B. Chapman this winter, for which he has had a bill to pass Congress, by the energy and perseverance of Gen. Whitfield, to procure the right of way from the Indians through their several territories; this railroad as contemplated by the company, will pass through the most valuable land in Kansas, and will add great worth to the Indian lands. The Indians are fully sensible to its value as enhancing the worth of their lands. The Indians will obtain from the General Government, double the value for their lands they would otherwise. The road will be put under contract as soon as the company is incorporated. The road will commence on the Missouri and north side of the Kansas, thence up the Kansas to Pawnee town, near Fort Riley. The most probable route will be up the valley of the Blue; however, its final destiny after arriving at Big Blue, must be left to future speculation. A work of that character, that will immediately introduce one or two thousand laborers, will have an important bearing in settling the institutions of Kansas. Capitalists may invest in this work with safety. The privileges granted by Congress renders the prosecution of the work certain.

FARE AND WAY-BILL.

From Cleveland to St. Louis via Chicago.....	16,50
From St. Louis to Kansas by steamboat.....	10,00
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	26,50
From Cincinnati to St. Louis by steamboat.....	8,00
Thence to Kansas at any town on the Missouri	10,00
	<hr/>
	18,00

It is probable boats will run from Cincinnati and St. Louis up the Kansas river to all the towns, which will convey passengers and freight much cheaper than by re-shipment. Freight from St. Louis to the mouth of the Kansas, is from 25 to 50 cts. per hundred weight.

The emigrant ought to provide himself with all kinds of seed, and particularly the Osage Orange seed. Soak the seeds in a solution of nitre, and prepare a good mellow piece of ground and plant in a nursery the next spring about the new moon in March cut the young twigs close to the ground or at the yellow bark, and set them out carefully in two rows six inches apart in echelons * * * * *. They then shoot out branches close to the ground, and form an impervious barrier. One gallon of seed will enclose 80 acres.

The high price of grain is the expense of hauling it from the Missouri river to the special locality where it may be wanted.—Every article may be obtained as cheap on the Missouri river as in Ohio and Indiana.



